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QUEEN LOUISE.

Mother of Emperor William I.

THE

THREE GERMANYS

GLIMPSES INTO THEIR HISTORY

BY

THEODORE S. FAY

'Noctes atque dies patet atri janua ditis."

VOLUME I.

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TO

THE MEMORY

OF MY

NOBLE AND BELOVED FRIEND AND SON-IN-LAW,

DR. FRANK P. ABBOT,

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

Blasewitz-Dresden, *January* 3, 1889.

PREFACE.

WHAT has emboldened me to write a history of Germany? The extraordinary political changes since I first came to Europe (1833); and the circumstance that, during twenty-five years, diplomatic positions in London, Berlin, and Switzerland offered me a favorable opportunity to observe these changes, particularly during the revolutions of 1848 and the German wars of 1866 and 1870.

On my first arrival, the old Roman German Empire had recently come to an end. Its last Emperor, Francis, was living. Even after his death (1835), the influence of the vanished Empire was yet so strong in Germany, that Austria was still allowed to be the leading power. The people had nothing to do with State affairs. Prussia, far more advanced, was nevertheless only an honest, patriarchal despotism in which the venerable Frederic William III. could say, like Louis XIV.: "*L'État c'est moi!*" The post was in the hands of the police. The press was muzzled. One could not move without a passport. Even the old German Empire had possessed an Imperial Parliament and an appearance of unity in presence of foreign powers. The Germanic Confederation had neither Diet nor unity. It was a rickety conglomeration of disproportionate elements. The Act of Confederation had been made less unpalatable by its thirteenth article, which contained a guarantee by all the sovereigns concerned, including those of Austria and Prussia, that a constitution based on representation *by estates* should be introduced into all the States. Twenty years had elapsed, but no Prussian Constitution had been introduced.

Prussia was not disinclined to move slowly forward, but Austria and Russia held her back. This was the state of affairs in 1837. Three questions then occupied the German people. First, was there ever to be a liberal Prussian Constitution? Secondly, was Germany forever to submit to reactionary Austria? Thirdly, as the Germany of that time was obviously provisional, what was to come next? An Empire seemed impossible. Prussia was too strong to remain under Austria, and Austria too powerful, proud, and ambitious to set the old German crown upon the head of Prussia. The great European powers were opposed to another German Empire: France most of all. These were enigmas which, in the words of Bismarck, "could be solved only by blood and iron." The processes by which they were solved at last; the revolutions by which their solution was initiated; the forcible ejection of Austria from the Germanic Confederation; the explosion of the Treaties of Vienna, and the final breaking of the chains which, since the Thirty Years' War and the Treaty of Westphalia, had for two hundred years bound Germany to the chariot wheels of France—this prodigious transformation I beheld with my own eyes, as from a good seat in a theater a spectator watches the unfolding events of an interesting drama. I saw the Germany of 1815 go down, and a new Europe and a new Germany rise in its place. I was present when the first news of the French revolution of 1848 burst upon Berlin. I beheld the street battle on the 18th of March; heard the debates in the Prussian National Assembly during that summer; was one of a mission sent to Archduke John (then Regent of revolutionary Germany) and to Heinrich von Gagern; and saw the Frankfort Parliament with its array of celebrated members; Prince Lichnowsky and Robert Blum just before their death; the entrance of General Wrangel with twenty-five thousand troops into Berlin; the close of the revolution in Prussia, and the breaking out and conclusion of the wars of 1866 and 1870.

In the first scene of this drama (1837), the Prussian censor

struck out, from the manuscript of a novel, a description of the upsetting of a stage-coach, because it seemed to cast an imputation on the minister of the post. In March, 1871, in the first Imperial Parliament of the new German Empire (Reichstag), the member Bebel, one of the leaders of the Socialist party, openly declared that the burnings and massacres recently perpetrated by the Communists in Paris were justifiable, and were but the mild forerunners of what was inevitably to follow. In 1886, the same member, again from his seat in the Reichstag, spoke in justification of the murder of the Czar, Alexander II., threatening the German Emperor with a similar fate, should the Socialist party deem the measure required by circumstances.*

Here was a change, indeed. In the hope that my countrymen would be willing to peruse an account of this important transformation in the words of an eye-witness, I began a sketch; my original purpose being merely to relate what I had myself seen; but when my sketch was finished, I found that, to be intelligible, it required also a sketch of the French Revolutions and Napoleon. These I soon discovered could not be rightly understood without at least a glance at the Holy Roman Empire; the suppression of which was the true historic act of Napoleon. It was France which destroyed the first Germany; it was France which, by her attempt to destroy the second, furnished the desired opportunity to build up the third, the German Empire founded by William I. A history of Germany without the old German Empire would be a *torso;* and, without a corresponding view of France, it would be a painting of wrestling gladiators, presenting only one of the combatants. The Empire of Charlemagne; the Germany without an Emperor; and the Empire of William I. can not appear in their right light unless seen in their mutual connection. History, like architecture, possesses a certain symmetry. The more clearly we see the whole, the better we understand the parts. The

* See Dresdener Anzeiger, No. 92, April 2, 1886. Deutscher Reichstag.

Alps strike most when their whole chain is visible. My work has thus become a more daring one than I proposed. It is preceded by an introduction called: "The World before Charlemagne." Without the latter, many obvious questions remained unanswered. How did a German warrior become master of Rome and heir to the Cæsars? How did Rome again become mistress of Germany? Why was the old German Empire called *Roman?* And why was it called *Holy?* That Empire was founded on the Gospel manuscripts. These manuscripts have agitated the world for two thousand years. What reason had the Holy Roman Empire to receive them as genuine? What reason has the present age to reject them? Their authenticity has been denied by some modern critics. Have these critics succeeded in their attempt to disprove them? The events connected with these writings before the Empire of Charlemagne thus required to be presented, at least, as bas-reliefs on a pedestal.

I scarcely aspire to the name of a historian. I have explored no new field, disinterred no ancient manuscript, brought to light no yet unknown event or character. My object has been rather to disengage truth from events already known; to present an outline, and only an outline, of a most important part of human history; a *résumé* for the scholar, and a bird's-eye view for the general reader who wishes, at the least possible sacrifice of time, to acquire an idea of the past and the present, and to form some conjecture with regard to the threatening and portentous future.

The present moment has an exceptional historic interest. The death of the Emperor William I. and of the Emperor Frederic III., closes the old era which we have endeavored to describe. We are thus now beholding the first scenes of a new drama. Bismarck and Moltke have reached an advanced age. A young, brilliant Emperor has ascended the throne. He may soon be surrounded by counselors yet unknown; and may find himself in the midst of complications, the nature and proportions of which who can measure? Many signs

indicate that they will be vast and startling. The great historian of Switzerland, Johannes von Müller, says: "We must watch the unfolding of events with the earnestness of nations walking on the brink of a precipice." The reader can not understand the present or the future without at least a rapid review of the past. This I have humbly attempted to give. My work is too much of an outline to admit descriptions of literature, art, social life, commerce, agriculture, etc. These, however interesting, must be sought elsewhere.

I have written from the stand-point of Christianity; not in consequence of early training, but because, after fifty years' careful search, I have not been able to find any solid reason to reject it. At eighteen, for awhile, I threw the belief overboard; but at eighty, I confess my childish error and record my opinion, slowly and conscientiously formed in the greatest centers of scientific unbelief, that the objections (and I know what they are) founded on scientific discoveries, geological, astronomical, anatomical, historical observations, and what is called philosophical reasoning, can all be as logically answered as those advanced by Ptolemy against the real construction of the physical universe. Yet more; they can be answered to the satisfaction of every well-informed *fair-minded* scientific unbeliever if, like Copernicus, he will examine *both sides*. Copernicus also once believed our earth the center; but his weighty reasons were outweighed by weightier.

I submit my work to the public with diffidence, conscious of its probable imperfections; but with a hope that the candid critic will leave a generous margin for errors; will seek for the good more than the bad; and will not forget that—

> "Earthly power doth then show likest God's
> When mercy seasons justice."

BLASEWITZ, July 25, 1888.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE WORLD BEFORE CHARLEMAGNE.

This Period seems to fall into four divisions:

I. Before the Birth of Christ.
II. From the Birth of Christ to the Irruption of the Barbarians.
III. Irruption of the Barbarians.
IV. From the Irruption of the Barbarians to Charlemagne.

I.

THE WORLD BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

FROM the earliest dawn of history to the birth of Christ, six great so-called universal monarchies (the origin of the first two lost in the mists of antiquity) successively arose on the shores of the Mediterranean: Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, Rome; *successive*, because the supreme power, about in the order just named, passed from one to the other; *universal*, because their dominions comprehended the then most civilized portions of the earth. The rest of the globe had not yet fairly appeared upon the stage of history. The greatest of these empires was the last mentioned, Rome. They all comprised Palestine within their limits, and their relations with the Jewish people and Jerusalem formed a striking element in their history. *Egypt* for several centuries held the whole Jewish nation

in slavery; *Assyria* bore the ten tribes into Asia, whence they never returned; *Babylon* (Nebuchadnezzar) for the time destroyed Jerusalem, carried the Jews to Babylon, and held them seventy years in slavery; *Persia* (Cyrus and Artaxerxes) gave them permission to return, and aided them in rebuilding their city; *Greece* (Antiochus Epiphanes, one of the successors of Alexander the Great) endeavored to extirpate the Jewish religion; and *Rome* finally destroyed Jerusalem and the temple, and scattered the people among the nations of the earth as they are scattered to-day. Of these six empires, two, Assyria and Babylon, have quite disappeared. One, Rome, still claims the Empire of the world.

It is interesting to mark in the Scriptures, the assumption by these potentates of absolute power over the whole earth: "I, Nebuchadnezzar, decree that *every people, nation, and language* which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrac, etc., shall be cut in pieces." Again: "Then king Darius wrote, *unto all peoples, nations, and languages* that dwell in all the earth, I decree." Again: Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, "The Lord God of heaven hath given me *all the kingdoms of the earth*, etc., etc." Again: "And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that *all the world* should be taxed."

These were not mere oriental phrases, but proclamations of absolute universal authority. Each one of these empires aimed at becoming master of the world. Each attempt was a failure; each history, a record of folly, sin, and unfathomable misery. Of Greece, Professor Droysen says: "In her last days, frivolous; marked only by outward show instead of real worth; without self-control or noble motive; without virtue; without religion, Greece finally entered into that intellectual, piquant, profligate immorality which invariably constitutes the last phase in the history of a sinking people." We may add, that

this period of Grecian history was polluted by the almost universal practice of the lowest vices.

The supreme power passed from Greece to Rome when Mummius, the Roman Consul, conquered Corinth, plundered and burned the city, massacred the men, and sold the women and children into slavery. At the time of the Saviour's birth, the world was Rome, and Rome was the world.

After centuries of prodigious anarchy, these six Mediterranean empires were succeeded by the seventh, the Holy Roman (German) Empire. This did not include Jerusalem within its limits, for the ancient Jerusalem was no more. But it included Rome; and for two hundred years (the Crusades), at a gigantic cost of money and life, it strove in vain to acquire the place on which the ancient Jerusalem had stood.

The successive records of these seven empires may be called the grand river of human history. Those of other nations are branches which flow into it. After the destruction of the seventh Empire by Napoleon I., there was no new world-empire. The great stream separated into various channels, through which it is still rapidly rushing forward, foaming, eddying, breaking apart, forming anew, according to the impetuous currents of the mighty waters. Whither is it flowing?

We read of the fall of the Roman Empire. The phrase is not strictly correct. The Roman Empire has not fallen. It is true, imperial, pagan Rome, the Western Empire, fell, "and great was the fall thereof"; but by the Christian, Eastern, or Byzantine, Empire, by the Roman Church, and by the Holy Roman Empire, Rome in a new form continued to be a power in the world. On the Irruption of the Barbarians (about 375 A.D.), the heterogeneous populations outside of her frontier were received into her then Christian domain, transformed and amalgamated by the Roman (Papal) Church.

"The old Roman Empire," says Karl August Auberlen,* "never thought of presenting itself as a continuation of the universal monarchy of Alexander; but the German Empire of Charlemagne found its highest honor in the title, '*The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.*' Before the dissolution of this old German Empire, Napoleon I. had conceived the idea of a Roman Empire vested in the French nation. His empire was essentially Roman. He crowned himself with the iron crown of Lombardy, with which Charlemagne had crowned himself, and baptized his son '*King of Rome.*' The idea of the restoration of the Cæsars continually floats with magical power before the imagination of great world conquerors. They invariably strive to revive it. The aim of the Russian emperors (whose title of *Czar*, like the German word *Kaiser*, is a modification of the title Cæsar) is to surround their throne with the splendor of Constantinople in the Eastern Roman Empire."

Although the Germans conquered the Romans, they received from the latter the Roman church, Roman culture, Roman literature, Roman laws, etc. Before the Reformation, scholars wrote in Latin, divine services and preaching were usually in Latin. These were strong elements in the development of Germany. We shall have to record the constant struggle through many centuries, and, indeed, to our present day, of the German and Slavic elements with the Roman, sometimes mixing with it, sometimes breaking apart; sometimes the one predominant, then the other, but never completely uniting, and never completely separating. This was especially visible in the struggle of the Emperors against the Popes, and of Protestant Reformers against the Catholic church. "Thus we have continual attempts to re-erect a Roman throne strong enough to govern the world, whether in the spiritual form of the Papacy, or as a political Empire, such as

* Ph.D., etc., Prof. of Theology in Basel.

proposed by Charlemagne, Charles V., and Napoleon I." We shall see, still more clearly, in our sketch of Charlemagne, Henry III., Barbarossa, etc., that the Holy Roman Empire of Germany was a continuation of the Rome of the Cæsars. One can not, therefore, form a clear idea of Germany without a few words upon Rome. The old German Empire was built upon its ruins. Rome was the foundation of the edifice, the source of the river, the massive root of the stately tree.

At the birth of Christ, Rome was regarded as the world. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (30 B.C.) declared her a mightier Empire than any of her predecessors. "She governs the whole earth, in all places not inaccessible. She is the first and only conqueror who has made the east and the west her limits. Her power has not been transitory. She has lasted longer than any other kingdom." So wrote Dionysius. But Rome aspired not only to be mistress of the earth, but to continue its sovereign forever. The proud Roman scorned the idea that his government could ever be overthrown. The Roman coin was stamped with the proud words: "*The Eternal City.*"

In fact, this stupendous, eternal Empire does still survive; but, in its ancient form, at least, it was destined, in its turn, soon to crumble down. When Titus entered the burning Jerusalem and started back at the sight, he did not know that his own country was about to become an equal wreck. He did not know that the Jewish people would remain a distinct nation long after the city of Rome had become a pile of picturesque ruins, and his empire, a tale remembered only as an illustration of the depth to which a nation can sink. His realm assumed to be universal as well as eternal. He did not know how soon those German Barbarians, so many of whom Rome held in slavery, would enter the Eternal City as conquerors and kings.

The boundaries of Rome were, on the north, the Lower

Rhine, Main, and Danube; on the east, the Euphrates; on the south, the Desert of Arabia and Africa; on the west, the Atlantic. Cæsar conquered England (Britannia), but not Ireland nor Scotland. Arabia remained independent. Rome may be described at that time as consisting principally of the Mediterranean, with all its coasts and islands. Its area was about equal to that of the United States of America, and lay nearly within the same parallels of latitude. The population was said to be one hundred and twenty millions, of which one half were slaves. The Emperor Augustus caused a mile-stone of gold to be erected in the Roman Forum to indicate the center point of the universe. From this stone, wonderfully well-built roads, parts of which still remain, established easy communication between the provinces and the metropolis, and facilitated the march of the Roman legions to their most distant conquests. The Appian Way, 350 miles long, extending from Rome to Capua, with sidewalks on each side for pedestrians, was partly hewn out of solid rock. But these roads served other and unforeseen ends. They opened the whole country to the hordes of barbarians. They led Alaric, Attila, etc., to the very gates of Rome, and enabled the persecuted followers of Jesus to go forth and preach the Gospel to all the world.

At this period of time, the vast region called Germany, extended over the third of Europe. It comprised the whole of modern Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Livonia, and the greater part of European Russia. In fact, Europe consisted principally of Germany and Rome. Who were the Germans? Whence came they? Their origin is obscure. In common with all mankind, they originally came from Asia, and the resemblance between the German language and the old Indian, or Sanscrit, found principally in words connected with agriculture and shepherd life (particularly the latter), as well as the similarity of construction which marks those

two languages, seem to justify the opinion that the Germans are a branch of the great Indian Aryan family. Some dispute their Asiatic origin, and point to the blue eyes, fair complexion, and blonde hair, in contrast to the Indian type. But science has now generally agreed upon the former conclusion.

Why did those German tribes forsake their Asiatic fatherland? Various causes might have determined their exodus; wars, pestilence, famine, inundations; nothing definite is known on this point. When did they migrate? Does not the fact that most of the Sanscrit words retained in the German language refer to shepherd-life, suggest that this separation must have taken place at a very remote period, when all these populations were nomadic and pastoral, and anterior to the development of Hindoo civilization? It is believed that in prehistoric times, Europe was flooded by three successive waves of Asiatic emigration: the Kelts (Celts), the Germans, and the Slaves. The origin of the Celts is still a much disputed problem. In the fourth century, before the Christian Era, they occupied a large portion of Central Europe, but were afterward driven over the Rhine by the Germans. How far back may we venture to place the first inflow of German tribes from Asia? When Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees (nearly 2000 years B.C.) to go into the land of Canaan, had the Germans already penetrated into Europe? Did they find, in those vast forests, only gloomy solitudes yet untrodden by human feet, or regions inhabited by other tribes unknown to history—the builders, perhaps, of the *lake dwellings* (Pfahlbauten)? Every answer can be but hypothetical.*

* On the discovery (1854) of these lake dwellings, many scientists proclaimed that they dated from a period vastly anterior to that indicated by the Mosaic account of man's origin. Dr. Pfaff (pp. 712, 713, 725, 727,) states that a great change of opinion on this point has resulted from later investigations; and that all thoughtful and unprejudiced geologists and ethnologists now regard these lake dwellings as comparatively modern; some of them dating only from a few centuries before

About seven hundred years before the Christian era, the first German colony, it is said, reached the shores of the Baltic; others think the tribes in Thrace, conquered by the Persian king, Darius Hystaspes (512 B. C.), were probably Germans (Goths). About 300 B. C., a Greek sea-captain named Pytheas made a voyage through the Baltic and North seas, and described his discoveries in a work which excited special ridicule. The learned critics declared that even had the God Hermes himself written the book, they would never believe that the waters every day rose and fell on the shores of the North Sea, and that at a point still farther north there was a day and then a night of several months, etc., etc. Pytheas also named several wandering tribes, among them the *Guthonen*, who sold amber to another tribe called the *Teutonen*. The first German tribes which distinctly appear in European history in connection with Rome are the Cimbri and the Teutones. They emigrated from the shores of the Baltic, accompanied by their wives, children, cattle, etc., in search of a southern settlement. In the Styrian Alps, they were confronted by a Roman army (113 B. C.), which they defeated. They then, increasing in number by their union with other tribes, moved into Gaul, defeated another Roman army, devastated all the territory between the Alps and the Pyrenees and (105 B. C.) routed a third Roman army. The Romans (102 B. C.) then sent Caius Marius with a new army, by whom the Cimbri and Teutones were almost annihilated. From that time, German slaves were found in most of the Roman towns. Teutobod, king of the Teutones, graced the triumph of Caius

Christ. In fact (continues Dr. Pfaff), the only opinion which science is authorized to express (and that opinion is founded upon positive geological proof), is that man appeared suddenly upon the earth, only a few thousand years ago. The calculations founded upon the discovery of human remains, etc., in caves, etc., also appear more and more unreliable.—*Schöpfung's Geschichte von Dr. Friedrich Pfaff, Prof. an der K. Universitat zu Erlangen. 5te. Ausgabe. Heidelberg, 1881.*

Marius, the first German prince thus dragged through the streets as a spectacle to the people.

We name only a few of these very numerous tribes; the Teutones, the Cimbri, the Catti, the Suevi, the Batavi, the Longobardi, the Goths, the Burgundians, the Vandals, the Gepidæ, the Marcomanni, the Alemanni (consisting of a number of united tribes), the Franks, including the Ripuarians, on the shore of the Rhine; the Saliers, the chief of the Frankish tribes (taking their name from the river Saale); the Cheruski, the Frisii, the Saxons, the Angles, the Quadi, the Thuringii, the Scirri, the Heruli, the Boyern (Bavarians). It is not possible to be accurate as to the names of all these tribes. Some were mere names of confederations, including various tribes, as the Alemanni, the Suevi, etc. The religious ceremonies of some were disgraced by human sacrifices.

Pliny and Tacitus give accounts of a cold and barren Germania, covered with forests and swamps. The Germans were athletic, warlike, independent; the men, with blue eyes and light reddish hair, simple, brave, pious, patriotic, hospitable, chaste, honorable, and their word sacred as an oath. They respected woman, honored her, and listened to her counsel. Where did the Germans acquire these virtues? Were these traits the remnant of a remote civilization brought with them from Asia? They had neither money, art, nor science, no commerce, no industry. Their character was, moreover, sullied by three vices: drunkenness, gambling, and quarrelsomeness. The women were beautiful and virtuous, with blue eyes, bright complexion, and golden hair; their demeanor marked by modest pride and dignity. The traveler of our day will often see that this type is not extinct.

Cæsar, while Governor of Gaul (now France), drove some of these tribes out of the country, and by means of bridges built over the Rhine at Coblentz and Bonn, attacked them in the midst of their own forests (59 B.C.).

They defended themselves with unexpected courage. He did not succeed in actually subjecting them, but he carried back with him to Rome some German youths recruited into his legions. This apparently insignificant circumstance had the most important influence upon the whole future history of Germany and Rome; for here these ignorant barbarians, brought into contact with the civilization of Rome, admitted in large numbers into the legions, learned her military system, studied her form of government, and it may be said, from that moment began to conquer their conquerors. Why did Cæsar as well as his successors recruit Germans into the army? Because the courage and intelligence of these athletic warriors had made a deep impression not only upon Cæsar, but upon his troops, already tainted with effeminacy and indolence. The Roman victories had been dearly bought, and it was not without difficulty that the great commander could force his legions into the field. In fact, the German soldiers at an early period discovered that they were equal to the Romans, and might become superior to them. After Augustus, in nearly all the battles fought by Rome, German troops formed a more or less important part of her military force.* From the increasing weakness of the empire and the increasing strength of the Germans, it is easy to understand how they gradually reversed their subordinate relation to Rome.

The murder of Cæsar took place forty-four years before the birth of Christ. The motive of Brutus and his accomplices was to regenerate their country and prevent the transformation of the commonwealth into an empire. The folly of the patriotic crime is illustrated by the result. Plutarch declares that Cæsar's ghost appeared to Brutus, saying: "*We shall meet again at Philippi.*" Had Cæsar's

* It is believed that the soldiers at Golgotha, one of whom cried, "Truly this is the Son of God," and the "foolish Galatians," to whom Paul subsequently addressed an epistle, were Germans.

ghost, like Banquo's, called up a vision of the future, with what emotion would the noble assassin have beheld the consequences of his deed! the final wreck of the commonwealth; the dark shadows of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Domitian, Commodus, and "many more!"

We here remind the reader that the first Roman Emperor and his successors were worshiped as gods. This sort of worship soon became the principal feature of the official state religion. "In it," says Uhlhorn, "the religious development of the ancient world reached its culminating point" (that is, man-worship). Adoration of the Emperor was the first duty of a Roman citizen; refusal was punished with death.

Augustus, 1st Roman Emperor, 30 B.C.

Augustus had reigned about thirty years, when our Saviour was born. This great event stands without a date, for we are here at the very core and central point of history. All previous and subsequent events in the civilized world are dated from this *year one*. The great French Revolution attempted to reconstruct chronological tables without reference to the momentous coming of Christ, but the attempt was a failure. All historians—profane, sacred, Christian, and anti-Christian—admit three important facts in connection with the birth of Christ:

I. An expectation that some wonderful personage would appear about this time, pervaded the heathen world.

II. This expectation prevailed particularly among the Jewish people, founded on passages inscribed in their sacred books during the previous fifteen centuries. When John the Baptist appeared they mistook him for Jesus.

III. Since the birth of Christ not only have all events been dated from His nativity, but His recorded miracles and the few words said to have been spoken by Him have been the great motive power of history. Goethe says: "The real element of history is the struggle between Christianity and Unbelief."

II.

FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE IRRUPTION OF THE BARBARIANS.

The first eight centuries of the Christian Era now pass rapidly before us; the life, death, and resurrection of our Saviour; the destruction of Jerusalem, the dispersion of the Jewish people; the Roman emperors; the struggle between Christianity and Paganism; the persecutions against the Christians; the unbroken chain of witnesses and proofs by which some of the New Testament manuscripts are traced back to the life-time of Paul; the victory of Christianity and its elevation to the throne of the world; the long struggle for empire between Germany and Rome; the Irruption of the Barbarians; the final division of the empire into Western and Eastern; the conquest of the Roman Empire by the Germans; the extinction of the Western Empire; the adoption of Christianity in the form of Arianism by most of the German tribes; the destruction of the Arian Kingdoms; the appearance in the world of Mahomet and Islamism; the extraordinary disturbances of nature; the foundation of the seventh universal monarchy, namely, that of Charlemagne, *The Holy Roman Empire of Germany*. We shall give a slight sketch only of some of the chief events and characters of these eight centuries, with the explanations necessary for a bird's-eye view. However familiar with them, the reader may not have considered with sufficient care their juxtaposition. It is not enough to know facts. We must know what they mean. For instance, contrast Tiberius with Jesus; Nero with Paul; the philosophical systems of the pagans with the Gospels; the ghastly entertainments of the amphitheater with the peaceful assemblies for worship of the Christians, etc., etc. These eight centuries present a forlorn picture of the state of man-

kind; of the immorality, crime, misery, godlessness, and hopelessness reigning at the time of, and during the centuries immediately subsequent to, the appearance of Jesus Christ; a transition period between paganism and Christianity, and between the fall of the most powerful Empire which the world had yet seen and the rise of its majestic and, to the thinking observer, more powerful successor.

Cæsar had conquered Gaul, a country partly inhabited by German tribes, but, as already said, had not succeeded in subjecting the Germans east of the Rhine. The conquest was subsequently in a considerable degree accomplished by Tiberius (afterward Emperor) and Drusus. These two generals subdued the principal part of the German territory up to the Elbe without any great battle. Augustus appointed Varus (5 A. D.) governor over the turbulent tribes. During a residence of several years among them, supported by an army of 50,000 men, Varus had made himself detested by his exactions and tyranny. His object was also to Romanize the country. He attempted to impose Roman laws and customs, scourging, capital punishment, etc.—in fact, to draw Germany into Rome. Hermann, a young German prince of the Cheruski tribe, educated in Rome, determined to exterminate the invaders. Being in the confidence of Varus, he persuaded that general to separate his army into different detachments, and to march the main body into the Teutoburg forest (not far from the present Hanover). Varus ran into the trap. At a signal, the German tribes under the command of Hermann, simultaneously rose and commenced a general butchery. The separate detachments were easily cut down. The main body (27,000 men) had been betrayed into a spot where escape was impossible. After a battle of three days, and during a heavy rain-storm, the Romans were all slaughtered or captured. The Germans gave vent to their long smothered hatred by every imaginable atrocity. Many Romans

were crucified. The heads of those who had fallen were cut off and nailed to trees. Some prisoners were kept as slaves. The officers, tribunes, centurions, etc., were dragged to the altars in the sacred groves and sacrificed to the gods. Varus killed himself, and many soldiers followed his example. The head of Varus was severed from the body and sent to Marbod as a trophy. Hermann exclaimed, in a triumphant speech to his army: "The spell of the Roman power is broken; the German gods are greater than the Roman!" The news filled Rome with horror. The Emperor Augustus cried out in despair: "O! Varus! Varus! give me back my legions!"

For five years after this catastrophe, the Romans did not dare to attack Germany. At length, encouraged by dissensions among the German tribes, Germanicus, son of Drusus and nephew of Tiberius, then Emperor, made four campaigns into Germany. The first was a mere raid for plunder. The second brings before us an interesting drama. Hermann had eloped with the beautiful Thusnelda, daughter of Segestes, a German prince, an enemy of Hermann, and a friend to the Romans. Her father, having destined her for another, captured her from Hermann and held her confined in a German fortress, which Hermann besieged. Segestes found means to send to Germanicus and ask for assistance, which was readily granted. Appearing in person before the fortress, Germanicus drove Hermann away, took Thusnelda prisoner, and subsequently carried her to Rome. During the third campaign, the Roman army reached the Teutoburg forest and beheld the ghastly tokens of Rome's disgrace, the heads of her soldiers remaining yet nailed to the trees, and altars upon which their countrymen had been sacrificed to the German gods. While contemplating this scene, they were surrounded by the soldiers of Hermann, and would have suffered a massacre as terrible as the former, had not Hermann's army, contrary to his

orders, caused the battle to be lost by a premature attack. The fourth campaign (16 A.D.) was the most important. A thousand ships of Germanicus entered Germany by the mouth of the Weser, into which river Germanicus himself penetrated with 100,000 land troops. Two great battles were fought (the Germans commanded by Hermann); the Romans claimed the victory, but nevertheless retreated. At this moment, Tiberius, jealous of the renown which his nephew was acquiring, recalled him from Germany. In the triumph which the Emperor was reluctantly obliged to grant him, Thusnelda was compelled to walk among other captives. In her person Germany appeared humbled before Rome. Her subsequent fate is not known. We may here remark, that after the overthrow of Varus, and the four unsuccessful campaigns of Germanicus, the Romans abandoned the idea of conquering Germany for one hundred and fifty years, *i.e.*, to the second half of the second century. This war marked an epoch in history. It was the first time Rome had ever abandoned a conquest she had undertaken. She had now, after a humiliating struggle of twenty years, been obliged to change her aggressive warfare into defensive tactics.

Marbod, king of the Marcomanni, had founded a great kingdom in Bohemia. We may form some idea of the relations between Germany and Rome, even at this time, when we learn that among the celebrated Romans who graced the court of Augustus, many German princes and noble chiefs appeared; as, for instance, Hermann and Marbod. The latter, we are particularly told, was admired and treated by the Emperor with marked distinction. Indeed, Augustus might well receive with courtesy Germans who, in their own country, stood at the head of powerful armies. Marbod could bring into the field 80,000 footmen, besides 4,000 riders. We have seen that against the forces of Hermann, Rome afterward strove in vain.

After Hermann had driven the Romans out of Germany, a war broke out between him and Marbod, caused by the fact that Hermann had drawn into an alliance some of the tribes subjected by Marbod. In a battle (17 A.D.) near the river Saale, Marbod was defeated and obliged to retreat. He was subsequently attacked by a prince of the Goths and his kingdom entirely destroyed. He fled to Italy, and ended his life as a pensioner on the bounty of the Roman Emperor.

Hermann and Marbod are invested with particular historic importance. Marbod thought to strengthen his kingdom by uniting Germany with, if not merging her into, Rome. While Hermann, representing the pure German element, wished to cut his country entirely free from Rome and make it independent, if not supreme. It is not difficult to understand why Hermann holds so high a place in German estimation. If we may believe the poets, he still takes a particular interest in German military affairs. He is often represented as assisting in the great battles which his people victoriously fought against foreign oppressors. At Leipsic, Waterloo, Weissenburg, Worth, and Sedan, he sweeps through the clouds of cannon smoke, followed by a train of shadowy old German warriors, and rejoices to behold the legions of Augustus still flying before his brave Germans.

The power and popularity of Hermann gradually increased to a degree which caused his countrymen to fear he was aspiring to a dictatorship, and so, like Cæsar, he was slain by his own former friends.

Augustus died at the age of seventy-seven, after a reign of forty-four years. The reader will remember that upon the assassination of Julius Cæsar, Augustus determined to ascend the throne himself, and became the ringleader in that celebrated triumvirate (with Antony and Lepidus), the object of which was to murder every one who was supposed to be an obstacle in their

way, each one surrendering even his dearest friend on the demand of the other two. The cruel plan was carried out by the massacre of three hundred senators, two thousand knights, and a vast number of other victims. Cicero, the friend of Augustus, figured on Antony's list, and was abandoned to his fate. Lepidus gave up his brother, and Antony his uncle. Nothing was seen in Rome but blood and slaughter. The streets were covered with dead bodies, the heads of the most illustrious senators exposed on the rostrum, and their carcasses left to be devoured by dogs and wild beasts. Fearing assassination, Cicero had fled in a litter. On the noise of approaching steps, he thrust his head out of the litter. It was instantly severed from the body by the assassins sent by Antony. The head and right hand were carried to Rome and hung up in the Forum. Brutus, after the defeat of his army by Antony, died by his own hand. His head was brought to Rome and contemptuously thrown at the foot of Cæsar's statue. Thus Rome became an Empire, and Augustus her Emperor, under whom Jesus was born. We now come to the one under whom he died.

Tiberius, 14–37.

The Emperor Tiberius commenced his reign with an affectation of virtue. Beneath this mask, one of the worst characters of antiquity ascended the throne and gradually unfolded itself. During this reign of Tiberius, nearly every family in Rome mourned at least one of its members sacrificed to his jealousy. Many were executed without knowing for what cause. Accusation was death. The Senate and the people were almost wholly demoralized. The nearest friends and relations betrayed one another. Everybody was an informer. No delation was too infamous for the highest citizen, the noblest senator. The information was often secret. An army of spies in the pay of the Emperor swarmed over the whole Empire.

Senators trembling for their lives eagerly condemned alike innocent and guilty. The Roman people had no redress and no refuge; no England, Switzerland, or America to fly to for safety. Rome was the world. Even had there been other independent countries, it would have been impossible to reach them. The fugitive could not traverse the vast empire without being detected, and again betrayed by some sycophant glad to ingratiate himself with the tyrant. There was but one way to escape Tiberius' cruelty, and that was death. Suicide became frequent. Even this was not always successful. When persons who had attempted to commit suicide were discovered before death had ensued, they were brought hastily forward and, without trial or accusation, instantly executed. On one occasion, a poor man thus seized, died on the way. "*Ah!*" cried the Emperor, "*that wretch has cheated me.*" Sometimes, the victims, knowing life to be forfeited, thundered back frantic accusations in the Senate against witnesses and judges. These denunciations were reciprocated with rage. The Senate often resembled a menagerie of furious beasts. Tiberius watched these scenes with delight. They were not, however, his only amusements. While thus disposing of the lives, property, and happiness of the Romans, he abandoned himself more and more to unnatural vices and obscene debauchery. At last, he was afraid to remain longer in Rome. Hints of the universal hatred reached him. Sometimes, an invisible hand threw a threatening letter at his feet. Sometimes, when he entered the theater, voices blending in gay conversation were suddenly hushed to a dead silence. Sometimes, he was received with a murmur of irrepressible disgust and execration. He once said: "*They may execrate me, but they shall obey me.*" An accused citizen condemned to death, in his presence, with burning curses told the pale and trembling master of the world what "a vile beast

and bloody rascal he was; hated by man, and by the gods condemned to hell." All the debaucheries of the Emperor could not silence the whisperings of fear, and he went to Capreæ to escape assassination, leaving an unprincipled parasite, Sejanus, to misgovern in his place. Capreæ is a beautiful island near Naples, strongly fortified, surrounded by rocky reefs, which render its approach difficult. The climate is delicious, the views ravishing. The disgusting old libertine, prematurely infirm and covered with ulcers, here sought his paradise, built twelve villas, baths, aqueducts, arches from hill to hill, adorned with the most licentious pictures and statues, and steeped himself in pleasures too low to be called swinish, and which, says Cantu, "it would be impossible to imagine, far less to describe." To this revolting picture we must add yet a darker trait. When the infirmities resulting from excesses warned him of approaching dissolution, he appointed the vicious Caligula his successor, in the hope that the barbarities which he knew would be practiced by the latter, might in some degree throw his own into the shade. "In Caligula," said the dying fiend, "I have bred a serpent for the Roman people." This is the Emperor of whom Jesus said: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

At the age of seventy-eight, Tiberius grew very seriously ill, and was once thought to be dead. Preparations were instantly made for the proclamation of Caligula. But as the dying sovereign, who had only fainted, revived, Macro, a creature of Caligula, smothered him on his couch.

Under Tiberius (28 A.D.), nineteen years after the massacre of the legions of Varus, the Frisen (or Frisii) rose up in arms against Rome and conquered their freedom. The Germans were thus fighting the Romans during the life-time of Jesus.

While the infamous Tiberius disgraced the throne of the world, Jesus was hanging on the cross. In "Paradise Regained" Milton describes the form in which Satan presents one of the temptations in the wilderness. The Tempter endeavors to persuade Jesus that it would be easy and just to drive the hated Tiberius from his throne.

> "This emperor hath no son, and now is old,
> Old and lascivious, and from Rome retir'd
> To Capreæ, an island small, but strong,
> On the Campanian shore, with purpose there
> His horrid lusts in private to enjoy,
> Committing to a wicked favorite
> All public cares, and yet of him suspicious;
> Hated of all, and hating. With what ease,
> Indued with regal virtues as thou art,
> Appearing, and beginning noble deeds,
> Might'st Thou expel this monster from his throne,
> Now made a sty; and in his place ascending,
> A victor people free from servile yoke!
> And with my help Thou may'st; to me the pow'r
> Is giv'n, and by that right I give it Thee.
> Aim, therefore, at no less than all the world;
> Aim at the high'st; without the high'st attained
> Will be for Thee no sitting, or not long,
> On David's throne, be prophesied what will."

Caligula, 37-41.

We have said Tiberius was the worst character, yet for vice, cruelty, and crime, Caligula equaled and sometimes seemed to surpass him. He caused a temple to be erected to himself, that he might be worshiped as a god. Among his caprices was the idea to place in the Temple of Jerusalem his statue, with the inscription: "*To the illustrious Caligula, the new Jupiter.*" He was assassinated before he could carry this plan into execution.

Claudius, 41-54.

Claudius, the fourth Roman Emperor, weak in body and mind, was entirely in the hands of favorites and infamous women. Claudius

banished the Jews from Rome (Acts xviii. 2). After a reign marked by violence and crimes, he was murdered by his wife, Agrippina.

While the imperial throne was chiefly occupied by such human monsters, the moral condition of the people sank to the lowest point. No description can be given to the Christian reader of their beastly vices. The wealthy gave themselves up to unbounded extravagance. The value of immense estates frequently hung from the ears of a fashionable lady. Caligula's wife wore jewels worth millions in gold. All classes thirsted for riches, amusements, and newly-invented diversions. Labor was dishonorable, and left to the slaves. Savage inhumanity was a prominent feature. Religion had been superseded by superstition or atheism. Sorcery (Elymas the Sorcerer), amulets, talismans, spirit-rappings, table-turnings, evocations of the dead, were universally resorted to as the only sources of consolation. Usury was mercilessly practiced by the rich, who extorted enormous sums from the impoverished common people, and thus added to public distress. "The human race," says Uhlhorn, "began to degenerate. The busts and statues of that time show an increasing ugliness; countenances bloated with dissipation or emaciated by disease." One half of the population in the metropolis were slaves, and among them large numbers of German prisoners of war. They were treated with heartless indifference, often with frightful barbarity. The master had unbounded power over his slaves. In a fit of anger or drunkenness, he sometimes caused them to be thrown alive into the marble pond of his garden as food for his fishes. The great palaces were crowded with slaves, as menials, workmen, writers, cooks, copyists, readers, teachers. At the door stood the porter, a slave in chains. From the interior could often be heard the blows of the scourge, as the punishments were inflicted, after the overseer's report of the daily work.

These punishments were what might be inferred from the Roman education. The offender suffered the amputation of a foot; or of his nose or ears; or he was branded on the forehead with a red-hot iron; or he was sent to fight with the gladiators; or he was cast to the wild beasts of the amphitheater. The slightest fault brought a hundred lashes; for a more serious one, he was scourged to death or crucified.

The field-slaves, chained by the feet and branded with the owner's mark, were at night driven into filthy subterranean prisons. A single nobleman sometimes possessed four thousand of these wretched cattle. The boasted Roman law, to say nothing of mercy, had no justice for the slave. When a nobleman was murdered and the murderer could not be discovered, the law required that every slave who had passed the night beneath the owner's roof, should be executed, because of the possibility "that he might have been privy to the crime." The prefect of Rome, Pedanius Secundus (under Nero) was murdered. In his palace were four hundred slaves, all of whom, including women, and even newborn children, were put to death. Some protests against this act arose in the Senate, but an eminent Senator, C. Cassius, delivered a speech on the occasion which may still be read in Tacitus. He warned the Senate against any modification of the law, pronounced it indispensable to the safety of Rome, and presented arguments of such weight that the Senate, instead of abolishing the law, made it more severe. "These barbarians," said Cassius, "are ready, on every occasion, to rise and massacre us. They can be governed only by fear. Some innocent, no doubt, may suffer, but what does that weigh against the safety of the whole empire?" etc.

In the great war-storms which subsequently broke over Rome—as, for instance, the sack of Alaric—the slaves rejoiced in the opportunity to wreak fearful venge-

ance on their tyrants. The highest citizens, men or women, were liable to be reduced to slavery for various causes. During the three hundred years of Christian persecutions, many of the noblest characters of Rome were condemned to labor as slaves on the public works or in the mines. Great capitalists carried on the slave-trade on the largest scale. Men were hunted and captured under the most infamous circumstances. Slaves, of a certain large and powerful race, were much sought after in Syria. In one morning, ten thousand were sold in the free port of Delos alone. The trade was extremely lucrative. Under Hadrian and the Antonines some attempts were made to ameliorate the condition of slaves, but little was accomplished until the conversion of Constantine to Christianity.

The amphitheater affords another glimpse of Roman manners. Trajan, one of the most humane among Roman Emperors, brought at one time eleven thousand beasts—bears, lions, tigers—together on the arena. The Emperor, his court, senators, knights, poets, historians, philosophers, matrons, and young maidens, peasants, farmers, soldiers, slaves continually assembled in crowds, 80,000 at a time, to witness the spectacle. Gladiators appeared naked. Thousands of victims were thus annually slaughtered in the great cities. The victor was kept for death on another day. The entertainment was not only death, but death in its most ghastly forms. Every imaginable mode of torture was applied to add piquancy to the scene. Modern audiences may shudder on seeing the well-acted death of Cæsar or Virginia. But here flowed the real tide of life. The plunge of the glittering sword was no sham; the shriek which followed was no acting; and the wretch once slain, appeared upon the stage no more. If the combatant showed any sign of fear, he was goaded forward with a red-hot iron, while the spectators shouted "*Scourge! burn! kill! Why does the coward shrink*

back?" It was the custom to hiss, hoot, mock, and insult the victims thus devoted to destruction. The bloodiest incidents of history were reproduced upon the arena. Here could be seen Hercules again burning to death on Mount Oeta, Mutius Scævola holding his hand over the burning coals till it fell from the arm; or the robber, Loreolus, crucified and, while hanging on the cross, torn to pieces by ravenous beasts, etc.*

Scarcely a Roman writer raised his voice against these horrors. On the contrary, Pliny the Younger, one of the highest characters of antiquity, praises Trajan for providing "such noble and manly pastimes, which strengthen courage and create contempt for wounds and death." Be it said, to the honor of woman, that many matrons and maidens refused to countenance these abominations by their presence.

Apostle Paul, 8–64.

While all this was going on, Paul was traveling over Asia Minor and Macedonia, sacrificing his brilliant position and all his worldly hopes, confronting every danger, bearing every humiliation, testifying before Felix, Festus, Agrippa, and every-where preaching that "strange, new doctrine," which so awakened the curiosity of the Athenians. He made his celebrated discourse on the Areopagus during the reign of Nero (about 53 A.D.). It was his mission, in the darkest moment of the heathen world, to proclaim the Gospel in the three rotten centers, Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome; and strange, indeed, amid the tramp of legions, the shrieks and thundering plaudits of the amphitheater, and the cries of deep despair from the philosophers, must have sounded the hymns and discourses in the Christian assemblies for worship: "A light from heaven above the brightness of the sun."—"Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that

* "Darstellung aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine," von C. Friedländer. Leipsic (1864).

God should raise the dead?"—"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace!"—"She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, 'Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.' Jesus saith unto her: 'Mary.'" —"And last of all he was seen of me also."—"And all that believed were together and had all things common. And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need. And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people."

Nero.

Nero became Emperor in 44 A.D. Pliny calls him the common enemy of man. During his reign, more than two thirds of the metropolis was destroyed by a conflagration, believed to have been lighted by his order, for the purpose of building up a more magnificent city and procuring a better site for his proposed golden palace. To screen himself, he accused the Christians of this crime, and thus inaugurated the struggle in which, for nearly three centuries, Roman paganism vainly contended against Christianity for the mastery of the world.

First Christian Persecution.

Nero commanded that all Christians residing in Rome and in the environs should be put to death. Tacitus says he inflicted the most exquisite tortures upon his victims. Some were crucified; some were sewed up in the skins of beasts and torn to pieces by dogs. In the midst of these executions, the Emperor gave, at his palace, a magnificent public entertainment, feasted the people with sumptuous repasts, and dazzled them by splendid shows, chariot races, and other sports. The most striking was reserved for the evening. The imperial gardens were then brilliantly illuminated. The torches were liv-

ing Christians bound to tall poles, and smeared over with tar, burning to death amid the jollity and shouts of this infernal carousal. Suddenly, a new exhibition! Acclamations, first heard in the distance, grow louder and nearer. The guards open a way through the throng. The shouts increase to frenzy, and the master of the world, Nero himself, in a theatrical dress, driving a chariot with the skill for which he was famous, appears in the height of his glory, triumphant in the glare of the torches he had invented, and receiving the adoration of the people.*

This persecution did not extend through the Empire. It was confined to the metropolis and its environs, but it destroyed the majority of the Christians, and caused some of the remaining ones to look upon Nero as the Antichrist. Christianity was, nevertheless, strengthened by the ordeal.

Paul, being a Roman citizen, was not tortured, but only beheaded, and that willingly: "For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness," etc.†

* Mr. Herbert Spencer teaches that "Morality is only a natural consequence of social environments," and that the production of the highest type of man can go "only *pari passu* with the production of the highest type of society." How does he account for the evolution of the character of Christ out of the rottenness of the Jewish and Roman social environments? The evolutions *pari passu* were not Christ, but Caiaphas, Judas, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Vitellius.

† Paul died 64 A.D., and as the authenticity of his four epistles—Romans, two Corinthians, and Galatians—is admitted, even by David Strauss, C. F. Baur, and the whole Tubingen school, they must have been read by the infant Church within the period of thirty years after the death of Christ. The verses I. Corinthians 15 : 3, appear to prove that one, at least, of the Gospels had been already reduced to writing and received as divine authority. Christlieb gives the following: "The modern critics who started the theory that the Gospels were written after the Apostolic Age, have been obliged to retreat step by step from their original position. Baur began by dating Matthew's Gospel 130 A.D., but was forced back to 110. Köstlin placed it between 96 and 100, and went back to 70 and 80; Holzmann and Keim at 100, now admit it to have been as early as 66.

Peter, it is believed, suffered martyrdom in Rome. *Peter, 64.*

The next Emperor, Vitellius, was raised to the throne by his vices. Tacitus calls him a hog on account of his gluttony. Once, after a battle, when the air had been rendered pestilential by the unburied carcasses, he rode over the field to enjoy the view, with the remark: "The odor of a dead enemy is always sweet." He was the first usurper who used the Germans in his attempt to seize the imperial crown. He courted them with many favors, and when recruited into his armies, allowed them to wear their national costume. During the year 69, there were three pretenders fighting for the imperial throne. Galba was defeated by Otho, and Otho by Vitellius, who was murdered in 69. *Vitellius, 69.*

Vespasian, his successor, died a natural death at the age of seventy-nine, after a popular reign of ten years. During the year (69) which saw four emperors on the throne, while Titus was carrying on the great wars against the Jews, a formidable insurrection of the Batavians with other tribes broke out on the very extreme opposite western frontier of the Empire. The Batavians, under Civilis, were at first successful, and the rebellion spread like wild-fire among the tribes. Even the Gauls joined the Germans; even the German troops in the Roman army deserted to join their countrymen. With great difficulty the Romans at last gained the upper hand, but were obliged to grant to their enemy a certain degree of independence and other honorable conditions. The Germans on *Vespasian, 70–79.*

Kostlin placed Mark at 110; Keim at 100; Hilgenfeld admitted that it must have been written before 100; Volkmar went back to 73; Schenkel to between 45 and 58. Luke, according to Baur, 150; Zeller, 130; Hilgenfeld, 120; Volkmar, 100; Holzmann, between 75 and 80. The Gospel of John has been the greatest battle-ground. It could not, it was said, have been written by John, because it was composed 160. It is now admitted (Keim) to date as far back as 117, and perhaps 100, *i. e.*, a period when John, according to probability, was yet living, in which case, there would be no good reason for disputing its authorship."

this occasion would have been more easily put down, had not a great part of the Roman army, under Vespasian and Titus, been concentrated around Jerusalem, intent upon its final destruction.

We thus see that although, after Hermann, the Romans suspended their endeavors to conquer Germany, they claimed and maintained a certain authority over the tribes, and that whether their yoke was heavy or light, it was so insupportable that the war-like, liberty-loving Germans groaned under it and were gradually inspired to throw it off.

Jerusalem Destroyed, 70.

Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus in the first year of his father Vespasian's reign, in the same month, and on the same day of the month, on which Solomon's Temple, five hundred years before, had been destroyed by the Babylonians. One million Jews were killed, one hundred thousand sold into servitude, and the country finally reduced to a Roman province. The whole city was leveled, and a plow passed over the spot where the temple had stood. A part of the besieging Roman army consisted of Germans whom Titus praised, saying: "Their souls were even greater than their bodies." The mass of the Germans, however, at that time accused of baseness those of their countrymen who entered the Roman service.

Thus did vindictive, despotic Rome, trample her enemies under foot. The political existence of the great nation founded by Abraham and Moses thousands of years previously, was now annihilated, and those remnants of the Jewish people who had escaped the wreck, without king, temple, or country, were scattered among the nations of the earth. Thus they remain to this day, unmixed with the races around them, closely united in sentiment, marked by a strict and wonderful adherence to their customs and religion.*

* "With regard to the Jews," says Mr. Gaussen, of Geneva, "the observer

Just at the time when God's Temple was destroyed in Jerusalem, the Coliseum, a larger amphitheater than any of its predecessors, arose in Rome, a fitting arena for the martyrdom of Christian victims.

Barnabas was a disciple of Jesus, a companion of Paul, and one of the seventy apostles. A celebrated epistle has come down to us, ascribed to him.* *Epistle of Barnabas.*

can not fail to be struck with their extraordinary history. During nearly twenty centuries it has been found impossible to destroy them. No human power has been able to reunite, establish, or convert them, to separate them from their Bible, from Moses, or to bring them to Jesus. Their whole history, their origin, their ruin, their dispersion, their sufferings, their humiliations, their preservation, their long exile, their attempted extermination, so often apparently completed and so constantly unsuccessful; their unity, their obstinacy, their imperishable nationality, their ubiquity upon the globe, their infusibility among other nations, their synagogues, where have been read on every Sabbath during the last three thousand three hundred years, the prophecies which condemn them; their extraordinary wealth continually torn away and continually returning to them; their respect for the Old Testament, all the letters of which they have counted; their resistance to that same Old Testament; the desolation of their territory, once so fertile and for the last eighteen hundred years so barren; the cessation of their sacrifices since the sacrifice of Jesus—where can we find a parallel to these striking wonders?

* Whether this epistle be from Barnabas or not, its origin in, or immediately after, the apostolic period remains undisputed. It is particularly interesting from the following circumstance: The first chapters in the Greek manuscript were lost. But an ancient Latin translation of the whole epistle existed in which was the following sentence: "Let us take care that it may not be found with us *as it is written:* many are called but few are chosen." The quotation, "*many are called,*" etc., refers evidently to Matthew, and the expression, "*as it is written,*" seemed so clearly to imply that the Gospel of Matthew not only existed at that time, but was considered of equal authority with the books of the Old Testament, that some modern critics declared the phrase must have been interpolated by the Latin translators, and that until the Greek manuscript should be discovered the Latin citation must be rejected. The question has now been settled. Prof. Constantine Tischendorff, in 1849, as is well known, discovered in the convent of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, what is called the Sinai Bible, or the Sinaitic Codex, a manuscript copy of the Old and New Testaments. In addition, the manuscript contained the entire so-called Epistle of Barnabas in the original Greek text, and there stands the sentence exactly as in the Latin translation. "Let us take care that it may not be found with us *as it is written:* many are called," etc.

A word with regard to the Sinai Bible manuscript. It is believed to be one of the fifty copies which Constantine directed to be made in 331; the most authentic of all the manuscripts of the Scriptures which have descended to the modern world, and the most perfect copy existing of the New Testament; not a page is lacking. It is in the possession of the Emperor of Russia. One of two

Titus, 79-81.

Titus, son of Vespasian, succeeded his father. He was one of the noblest characters in history. The arch raised to his honor still stands in the Forum. In the inscription he is called God. Among the broken reliefs may be seen images of spoils brought by him from the Temple of Jerusalem: the golden table and candlestick; silver trumpets; and a procession of captive Jews going into slavery. It is believed that his brother, and successor, Domitian, caused him to be murdered.

Domitian, 81-96.

The next Emperor, Domitian, was sanguinary and licentious. He personally led his troops in two campaigns; one against German tribes, headed by the Catti, and another against the Dacians. He was defeated by the Germans, and had to purchase a shameful peace from the Dacians by paying them tribute. But, on his return, he gave himself the honor of a triumph, and assumed the glorious surname of Germanicus. His pretended prisoners of war consisted of slaves bought for the occasion. Roman police officers were employed to keep the people from laughing during this unmerited glorification. In Rome, however, the laughable side of the Emperor's inordinate vanity was soon forgotten in the terror of his merciless cruelty. Tacitus says: "Silent fear reigned in Rome." Under Do-

others, the Vatican Codex, is in the Vatican library at Rome. The third, called the Alexandrian Codex, is in the British Museum in London.

Another incident shows upon what unsolid foundation a critic can build a supposed very solid superstructure. Papias (166), Bishop of Hieropolis, in Phrygia, suffered martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius. He was the author of a work called "Explanations of the Words of the Lord Jesus," fragments of which have come down to us through the historian, Eusebius. In these fragments, Papias refers to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, but not to that of John. The omission of John's Gospel was pleaded by David Strauss and Renan as an argument against its authenticity; but a document has been recently discovered in Rome (see Tischendorff's work, "*Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst*," page 120), completely proving that in other portions of the book which he had written, Papias had really given ample testimony to the authenticity of John's Gospel.

mitian the second persecution of the Christians occurred. Among the victims was Timothy, the disciple of Paul, said to have been beaten to death with clubs. The Christians were accused of the blackest crimes—even murdering and eating their children.

Second Persecution.

John, the Evangelist, was banished by Domitian to the isle of Patmos, where he wrote the Apocalypse.*

Bishop Clement, the Roman, was a contemporary of Paul. An epistle to the Corinthians from the pen of Clement, written in 69, the genuineness of which is established beyond a doubt, cites several pages from Paul's epistles. Clement also quotes words of Christ as we have them in Matthew and Luke, which justifies the inference that these Gospels, either in an oral or written form, were already received as authentic.

Clement, the Roman.

Nerva, a mild and noble Emperor, opened the prison doors. During his short reign, he punished as a crime all persecutions against the Christians, recalled the banished to their homes, and indemnified them partly out of his private fortune for the loss of their confiscated estates. Nerva recommended Trajan as his successor, and died a natural death.

Nerva, 96–98.

Trajan was one of the greatest and best of the Emperors. Under him, the Empire attained its widest extent (to the Caspian). From this time, it began to decline. Instead of making new conquests, vain endeavors were made to defend those already achieved. A new element, Christianity, had been introduced into the world, and was beginning to undermine the worn-out Empire.

Trajan, 98–117.

The Apostle John, it is said, died in Asia Minor during Trajan's reign, at a very advanced age. Even they who

* The most skeptical of modern critics, even Strauss and Baur, do not deny that the Apocalypse was written by John.

dispute the authorship of his Gospel, place the date of it between 100 and 117.

Third Persecution.

The third persecution against the Christians took place under Trajan. Many eminent martyrs suffered not only death, but the most frightful tortures. We can not but wonder that the often excellent and upright pagan historians of that day should have taken so little trouble to ascertain the true character of Christianity. Pliny the Younger, while candidly testifying to the purity of the new sect, manifested no generous interest in pleading their cause, and sent them, like mere cattle, to the slaughter-house. He declared their religion "a perverse and extravagant superstition." Tacitus calls them "a mischievous sect, branded with deserved infamy, whose guilt merited the most exemplary punishment." Such injustice can be committed even by upright judges. Such mistakes can be made even by great historians.*

Pliny the Younger, one of the most learned men in the time of Trajan, states the upshot of scientific and philosophic research substantially in the following words: "There is no god except nature, the mother of all things, the holy, immeasurable, physical universe. Among all creatures, man, although the proudest, is the most wretched; and the greatest blessing he has received amid the torments of his life is the power to commit suicide." Seneca had spoken in the same strain. "Be-

* The following paragraph from Heinrich von Treitschke ("Zehn Jahre deutscher Kämpfe," Berlin, 1879, p. 462) offers an illustration of the carelessness with which a great and honest historian sometimes handles a subject. He mentions various causes which threaten to *sink Germany to the level of the United States of America.*

Tacitus was born about 54 A.D., and lived till between 117–130; therefore, during the life-time of John the Apostle, Polycarp, etc.; and had he taken the trouble which every historian ought to take to seek the best sources of instruction, he could have more correctly informed himself. Had Mr. v. Treitschke devoted somewhat more attention to his subject, he would, no doubt, have left his paragraph unwritten.

hold yonder steep precipice," cried the heathen philosopher and teacher, "from its brink downward, there you will find the road to freedom. Behold that sea, that dark river, that deep well! Plunge beneath the flood; there you will find peace. Behold thy throat, thy heart; there thy hand may procure for thee refuge against slavery." These were the ideas of Rome at the height of her grandeur. At this point, the materialists of our day remain still standing. This was all the answer human reason could give to Pilate's contemptuous question: "What is truth?" Contrast this teaching with that of Jesus: "Come unto Me. I will give you rest. Learn of Me, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

We can understand how Pliny with such ideas wrote his celebrated letter to Trajan, and how that Emperor replied as he did. We here see two men not inspired either by passion or interest, both exhibiting a kind of justice, and even humanity, yet discussing the persecution with cold-blooded indifference.

Pliny writes: "Shall I punish without distinction young and old? shall I pardon the repentant? I have said to the accused: 'Are you really Christians? In that case you must die.' Those who persisted I have ordered to be executed. I thought proper to subject to the torture two young females, who were accused of being attached to this faith. I found in them only an extraordinary superstition, and I suspended the proceedings to ask for thy instructions. The number of accused is very great, of both sexes and all ranks. The contagion has infected not only cities but villages—indeed, all the country around," etc., etc. Trajan replied, approving the course pursued by Pliny. The latter had been appointed proconsul in Bythinia and Pontus in the year 103, and died between 109 and 117. His letter to Trajan and his epistles show that, before that time, and during the life of the Apostle John, the "contagion" had "infected"

cities, villages, and the whole country. This must be true. Or will some defender of the myth-theory perhaps suggest that Pliny was a myth? and Trajan a myth also?

Ignatius, 69–107.

Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, was a personal friend and disciple of the Apostle John. His writings contain more than a hundred quotations from Matthew and John. Doubt has been cast upon most of the works of Ignatius, but the epistles which contain the above quotations are pronounced by the best critics to be beyond doubt authentic. Ignatius was brought before Trajan, where he persisted in proclaiming his faith in the risen Jesus as the Saviour of mankind. The Emperor with his own lips dictated his sentence, which, according to tradition, was in the following words: "It is our will that Ignatius be carried to Rome, bound, cast into the amphitheater and devoured by wild beasts for the entertainment of the people." The sentence was immediately executed, and Ignatius was torn to pieces on the Coliseum arena. This took place in 107—that is, about seventy-seven years after the death of Jesus. The persecution under Nero occurred in 64. It shows that, thirty-four years after Christ's death, Christianity was already firmly planted in the world, and that men and women stood ready to give up their lives in defense of it.

Hadrian, 117–138.

Fourth Persecution.

Under the Emperor Hadrian the German tribes became more hostile, and began to form threatening alliances with each other. Hadrian built a great wall on the northern frontier as a protection. Under him took place the fourth persecution. He died after intolerable diseases, during which he attempted to commit suicide.

Celsus.

Celsus, an Epicurean philosopher, wrote under Hadrian a work against Christianity, now in a great measure lost, but parts of which have been

preserved in Origen's "Refutation" in the subsequent century. Celsus ridicules Christianity on the ground that it welcomes all kinds of low people, even those who confess themselves to be sinners, and (I. Corinth. 1) itself admits that Christians are generally fools.

While Celsus supposed he was overthrowing Christianity, he was only helping to build it up. His work would not be worth mentioning if it did not prove that the four Gospels, at that date, had been for some time received by the Christians as authentic, and were working their way into the hearts of thousands. He denies that he quoted from traditions then in circulation, but expressly declares that he cited from the *Evangelical Scriptures of the Christians.* Disputes as to the period in which Celsus lived have resulted in the conviction that his book was written between the years 150 and 161.

Tacitus.

Tacitus, the great historian, died after 117 A.D. Under the Emperor Antoninus Pius (the righteous), the short golden age of the Empire appears in its brightest light. He did what Trajan might easily have done, had he been as clement and just as he was represented; he stopped the persecutions and ordered the accusers of Christians to be punished.

Antoninus, 138–161.

Some writers defend, with a certain show of reason, the perpetrators of the persecutions. Justice indeed requires us to consider the age and the circumstances. The Emperors were more excusable than the persecuting popes. The Roman law required that every Roman subject should pay divine honors to the Emperor. Trajan could say, "a refusal to do this is rebellion against the government and state religion"; but Nerva, Antoninus Pius, and other Emperors, by their innate humanity and sense of right, broke through this consideration. The attempt to suppress Christianity by force proved at last a failure.

It was not only more humane, but more wise, to forbid persecutions. The course of Nerva and Antoninus Pius did not endanger the safety of Rome, but the persecutors did.

Marcus Aurelius, 161–180.

Marcus Aurelius resembled his predecessor in greatness and renown. During his reign the Empire was attacked on the Rhine and Danube by the Marcomanni, Quadi, and other German tribes. The Emperor himself appeared upon the field, and after much difficulty subjected these powerful warriors (175). The chief battle was fought on the frozen Danube, where 100,000 Roman prisoners were recaptured from the Germans. The Emperor built fortresses along the banks of the Danube, and garrisoned them with 200,000 men. From this time, the Germans continually made inroads into the Roman provinces.

Fifth Persecution.

The fifth persecution took place under M. Aurelius. He issued a barbarous decree, by which the accuser of a Christian was to take possession of his forfeited goods. The persecutions now became general throughout the Empire. Christians were every-where ferreted out, dragged before tribunals, executed with ferocious cruelty, and their estates confiscated. How could Gibbon declare that the condition of the human race was so happy and prosperous during that period, when it was disgraced by two general persecutions, and the noblest and purest Roman citizens were continually murdered after being subjected to tortures, as Trajan said, "for the entertainment of the people"?

Polycarp, 155.

Among the victims of this persecution was Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, burned to death in that town. He had been a personal friend and pupil of the Apostle John, and at the moment of his death declared that he had served the Lord eighty-six years, and would not now deny him. He had become

a convert to Christianity about twenty-six years after Christ's crucifixion.

Justin the Martyr was scourged and beheaded during this same persecution, in consequence of his public defense of the Gospel. Three of his writings have descended to us, undisputed, in a perfect state of preservation; they are dated about the year 140; two of them apologies for Christianity, the other a dialogue with the Jew, Tryphon. Justin quotes from the four Gospels as sacred books.

The Muratori List of the New Testament Books was written about this period, either under Antoninus Pius, or Marcus Aurelius. At the head of this list stand the four Gospels. It is named from the distinguished librarian who discovered it in the Ambrosian Library, at Milan, of which he was director (1694).

The Gospel Harmonies, by Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, and by Tatian, a scholar of Justin the Martyr, in 170, are now lost; but we know them from the report of St. Jerome and Eusebius, in the fourth century. They presented one of the numerous proofs of the early existence of the four Gospels in a collected form, so much studied and circulated as to create a public wish that their apparent contradictions might be reconciled and the events fused together into a harmonious whole. In another work of Theophilus, yet existing, occur quotations from John.

Commodus, 180–192.

Commodus was a herculean brute. His highest ambition was to be applauded as a gladiator. In order the better to continue his debaucheries, he concluded a shameful peace with the Germans. A few conspirators made him drunk, administered poison, and strangled him. Under him the Prætorian Guards became the ruling power in the State. He received divine honors from the Senate. Owing to the influence of a female favorite, he protected the Christians.

Pertinax, a noble Emperor, was soon murdered by the Prætorian Guards.

These Guards, of whom many were Germans, had been originally instituted by Augustus, who allowed them double pay and great privileges. Not to alarm the Roman people, he had not concentrated them in one camp, but quartered them in different towns of Italy, retaining only three cohorts in the city of Rome. Tiberius had gathered them together in the capital. There were at first fifteen thousand, but that number was subsequently quadrupled. They were greatly feared, and gradually became masters of the Empire.

After the murder of Pertinax, the Prætorian Guards were inclined to sell the Empire to Sulpicianus, but a ruffian interrupted the negotiations by rushing out upon the ramparts and proclaiming with a loud voice that the throne would be bestowed upon the highest bidder. Sulpicianus bid a sum equal to one hundred and sixty pounds sterling to each soldier. Didius Julianus, a senator, bid two hundred pounds; that is, a total of three million pounds. The Empire of the world was knocked down to Julianus; it did not prove a valuable purchase.

Didius Julianus, after a reign of sixty-six days, was beheaded by the Prætorians.

Septimius Severus, 193–211.

Septimius Severus was raised to the throne by the Roman legions, consisting in a great measure of Germans. After reigning seventeen years, he died a natural death.

Sixth Persecution.

During his reign, the sixth persecution broke out, principally in Africa. It appears to have proceeded less from the Roman government than from the ignorant fury of the mob. Old calumnies were revived. Christians were hunted and tortured by scourgings, imprisonment, fire, and sword.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, suffered martyrdom, ac-

cording to tradition, during this persecution. He wrote a work against the Agnostics (a sect), in which are four hundred quotations from the Gospels—eighty from the Gospel of John. He speaks of the four Gospels as the "four pillars of the Church which already extended over the globe." *Irenæus, 202.*

Irenæus had been the personal pupil and friend of the aged Polycarp, who himself in his youth had sat at the feet of the Apostle John. Irenæus, in a letter to Florinus,* gives a most interesting account of his recollections of Polycarp: "I remember exactly how the blessed Polycarp lived; the very spot where he sat when he delivered his discourses; his manner when he entered, how he looked; what words he spoke; how he described his personal intercourse with the Apostle John, and with others who had seen the Lord; how he repeated just what they had said; how he dwelt upon the fact that these things which he had heard concerning the Lord, concerning his miracles and doctrine, he had heard *from the very lips of those who had seen the Lord with their own eyes;* and how all this oral information was in perfect harmony with the Scriptures. Irenæus died in the year 202. His great work against the heresies was published, according to Prof. Tischendorff, about the year 190.

Caracalla surpassed in cruelty all his imperial predecessors. He is said to have murdered twenty thousand of his own subjects. At this time, the Goths, the Alemanni, the Franks, the Saxons, and other German tribes were united in a general alliance against Rome. The Germans had now risen so high in the estimation of the Romans, that Caracalla imitated the once ridiculed barbarians in his dress and manners, and adorned his head with false hair in imitation of the flaxen curls worn by German youths. *Caracalla, 211-217.*

* A critic has attempted to deny the authenticity of this letter, but without evidence, and without support even from his brother skeptics.

Clement of Alexandria, 150-220.

Clement of Alexandria used our Gospels as authority, and says, "The *four Gospels have been handed down to us*," as one would speak of an ancient book.

Heliogabalus, 218-222.

Emperor Heliogabalus, called also Elagabalus (the sun), once a priest of the sun in Syria, introduced into Rome the obscene worship of Baal, with its revolting ceremonies, its lascivious dances and sacrifices. He was debauched, effeminate, voluptuous, clothed in robes of silk and gold, adorned with necklaces, bracelets, and gems of immense value; his eyebrows tinged with black, his cheeks painted red and white. When, on solemn occasions, he passed through the streets of Rome, the way was strewn with gold-dust. A black stone, representing the sun, and believed to have fallen from heaven, which he worshiped as his protecting deity, and compelled his subjects to worship too, was placed in a magnificent chariot, drawn by six milk-white horses superbly caparisoned. It is not possible adequately to describe the gross pleasures, the extravagant, disgusting violations by which he subverted every law of nature, decency, and reason. It would be injustice to the inferior animals to stigmatize this man as *beastly*.* Heliogabalus was massacred by the Prætorians (222). His corpse was dragged through the streets and thrown into the Tiber.

Tertullian, 160-230.

Tertullian was a champion of Christianity. His works contain several hundred quotations from the four Gospels, to

* Cyprian (Bishop of Carthage, 258) describes the Christians in the following passage: "In their outward demeanor they follow the manner and customs of the country, exhibiting at the same time a wonderful daily life eminently peculiar to themselves. They take part in every thing like citizens. They endure every thing like strangers. Every country is to them a fatherland, and yet every land a foreign land. They live *in* the flesh, but not *after* the flesh. They *lodge* on earth, but they *live* in heaven. They love all men, and are persecuted and misunderstood by every one. They are insulted, and they bless; they are killed, and they consider the day of their death as their birthday."

which he appealed as the standard of faith. He called the attention of the heathen public to the fact that the Christians were more obedient subjects than the heathen. "The Christians," he added, "already formed a considerable part of the population, and in the towns nearly always the majority. They had thus the power to unite in a formidable revolution, but that was forbidden by their religion. They therefore lived in patient submission and obedience, distinguished only by the purity of their lives. Many Emperors had fallen beneath the hand of the assassin, but no Christian had ever taken part in a conspiracy. They prayed for the Emperor, whoever he might be."

This passage from Tertullian confirms a fact stated also by other historians, that a hundred years after the crucifixion of Jesus, the entire Roman Empire was already covered with Christian communities.

Alexander Severus, 222–235.

Alexander Severus was a young and noble Emperor. In a war against the Alemanni, his soldiers, headed by Maximin Thrax, impatient of his strict discipline, murdered him. Notwithstanding a large development of immorality, Christianity was gaining ground. This is made evident by the fact that during Alexander Severus' reign, Ulpian, the Emperor's friend and adviser, and the most distinguished jurist of the day, caused to be inscribed upon the walls of his palace this verse of Luke: "*As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.*" Ulpian was afterward murdered by the Prætorians at the feet of his master.

Maximin Thrax, 235–238.

Maximin Thrax was a monster seven feet high, and one of the most beastly of the Roman Emperors. Nothing could more plainly prove the debasement of the Roman Empire than the elevation of this ferocious barbarian (partly by German soldiers) to the throne. He was the son of a Gothic

Thracian peasant, and in order to prove to the Romans that he was, notwithstanding his German descent, a true Roman, he marched his army into Germany and laid whole regions in ruins. The Senate deposed him, at which he was so infuriated that he howled like a wild beast, and almost dashed his brains out against the wall. He then marched toward Rome to punish the Senators, but on the way was murdered by his troops, after a reign of three years.

Seventh Persecution.

Among the horrors of Maximin's reign, the seventh persecution is in danger of being overlooked, for his savage fury raged equally against Christian and pagan, whose temples he plundered without caring for the difference. He issued an edict commanding prominent Christians to be executed. This edict was not generally carried out, but even when not murdered, Christians were oppressed, brutally imprisoned, stripped of their property, and otherwise ill-treated. During this time, the Christians not only received no protection from the law, but governors had the legal right to sentence them to death, and used the right largely, either to gratify their hatred or to extort money.

Decius, 249–251.

The bloody reign of Decius was only of two years' duration. In a furious battle against the Goths, this Emperor rashly led his army into a deep marsh. His horse sank into the mud and remained powerless, and the rider was transfixed by the darts of the enemy. After this event, the Christians enjoyed a short respite.

Eighth Persecution, 249–251.

The eighth persecution, carried on under Decius, was more terrible than any of the preceding. The Christians had steadily increased in number. Tertullian declares they filled all palaces, cities, islands, fortresses, camps, the Senate, the Forum, etc. Decius issued a decree that every Christian

in the Empire, without exception, should come forward and perform his part in the ceremonies of the state religion; disobedience to be punished by torture and death. Executions were not at first numerous. The authorities, however, soon became enraged at the steady resistance opposed to the decree, and the whole populace, fired with the idea that the Christians were conspirators against Rome, eagerly accused them of calling down, by their hidden arts, defeats, pestilence, earthquakes, and other calamities. Christians were at last hunted like wolves. If one was seen in the streets, he was stoned. The cry of the mob was: "*Burn! Burn! Kill! Kill! Ho! a Christian! To the lions! To the lions!*" Many thousands were massacred. Many fled to the Catacombs.* There, stripped of all comforts and property, and momentarily exposed to the most frightful forms of torture and death, they read the Scriptures by the feeble light of their little clay lamps. And what did they read? "Fear none of these things which thou shalt suffer: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

Under Decius, tradition places the well-known and beautiful legend of the Seven Sleepers.†

* Subterranean excavations where the ancients placed in tombs the dead bodies which they did not burn. Originally they were abandoned quarries. The most famous are those of Rome, Naples, Syracuse, and Paris.

† Seven noble Christian youths of Ephesus, flying from persecution, hid themselves in a cavern. They were discovered, and Decius commanded the mouth of the cavern to be blocked up with huge stones, thus intending to consign them to a frightful death. The seven youths fell asleep, and slept two hundred years. In the time of Theodosius the Younger (450), the stones, being required for building material, were removed, and the sleepers awoke refreshed, as they supposed, by a few hours' slumber. Feeling rather a good appetite for breakfast, one ventured into the city to buy bread. By his dress, demeanor, and language, he excited astonishment, and was himself surprised at every thing he saw, particularly a splendid Christian church, surmounted by a cross. He nevertheless sought a baker and purchased some bread. But, on paying for it with an ancient coin of the time of Decius, he was arrested, and, accompanied by an immense crowd, brought before a magistrate. His story awakened such curiosity that the whole town—the bishop, clergy, magistrates, people, and the Emperor Theodosius him-

Valerian, 253-260.

The Emperor Valerian and his son and associate, Galienus, determined to carry out the plan of Decius against the Christians. An imperial edict inaugurated the ninth persecution. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, with many others, was beheaded. In the Catacombs of Rome, one of the small congregations that continually worshiped there was discovered and walled up. We pass over numerous other instances. The persecution was brought to an end by the death of Valerian.

Ninth Persecution.

Galienus, 260-268.

Galienus, his son and successor, disgusted at the cruel punishments inflicted upon the most innocent of the Romans, refused to revive the persecution, caused the churches and all other Christian property to be restored, and proclaimed his will that the Christians should be permitted to practice their religion in peace. During this period of repose, which lasted forty years—namely, until the reign of Diocletian—Christianity began more perceptibly to permeate the heathen modes of thinking. Hospitals, orphan asylums, and other charitable institutions of the Christians, were imitated. A more humane treatment of slaves became noticeable in many families. We might suppose these improvements would have been received with joyful gratitude; and so they were by thousands. But other thousands furiously opposed them. The pure life led by Christians was a rebuke and an absurdity to the mass of the pagans. With what contempt would a Maximin Thrax or Heliogabalus regard a man

self—accompanied him back to the cavern. The other six sleepers confirmed the story, and after hearing of the changes which had taken place in the world—the death of Decius; the subsequent series of Emperors, Valerian, Aurelian, Diocletian, Constantine; the removal of the capital to Byzantium; the breaking apart of the Empire into the Eastern and Western; the abolition of paganism; the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the world—the seven sleepers expired. Reader, if, on waking some morning, you should find you had slept two hundred years, what changes would you see? In what direction is the world moving? What seed are the sowers sowing?

who taught the forgiveness of injuries — "whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also!" etc.

The Christians owed the immunity they now enjoyed not only to the mercy of Galienus, but to the unprecedented anarchy into which the Empire had fallen. There were at the same time thirty aspirants fighting for the throne. All these were murdered successively. At this time, not only was the Empire shaken to its foundations by civil war, but the Goths, the Alemanni, and the Franks, devastated the frontier and penetrated even into Italy and Spain. Nay, more: during the period of Valerian and the Thirty Tyrants, a long and general famine, caused by war and oppression, destroyed harvests, prevented the tilling of the soil, and exhausted populations. A plague also raged for several years without interruption, decimating every province, city, and almost every family. At the height of the scourge, five thousand persons perished daily in Rome. Famine, pestilence, and war appear to have destroyed one half the population of the whole globe.—GIBBON.

Aurelian, 270–275.

Aurelian (270–275) conquered the Goths and Alemanni, entered into an alliance with the former, and relinquished to them the province of Dacia, where they settled as allies of Rome. This would seem as if the Goths had conquered Aurelian, but "his manly judgment convinced him of the solid advantages, and taught him to despise the seeming disgrace of thus contracting the frontier of the monarchy." We can judge from this incident how the Germans were gaining ground over the Romans.

Diocletian, 284–305.

During the preceding one hundred and twenty years, thirty-six Emperors had reigned over Rome, twenty-seven of whom had fallen under the hands of assassins. Diocletian, perceiving that the Empire was too vast and turbulent to be gov-

erned by a single ruler, determined upon a new organization. There were to be two Emperors, one (himself) residing in Nicomedia, near Byzantium; the other (Maximian) residing in Rome; each Emperor to be assisted by a Cæsar and prospective successor. For his own Cæsar, Diocletian chose Galerius, a bigoted, bloody-minded pagan, of whose ferocious character he was not aware; to Maximian he assigned Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great. The period of forty years (284–324), including the reign of Diocletian and that of his successor, and the great civil wars, until Constantine, victorious over all his rivals, became sole Emperor, is one of the most interesting in history. It was marked by the greatest revolution that ever took place upon the earth,—the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the world. During the last eighteen years of this period, the Empire was the scene of almost universal civil war, and of the tenth and greatest Christian persecution. The latter was reluctantly commenced by Diocletian, thanks to the artifices of his Cæsar, the cruel Galerius; and after Diocletian, it was carried on by Galerius during the remainder of his life. There were at one time, six Emperors competing for the throne: Galerius, Maximian, Maxentius, Severus, Licinius, and Constantine. Finally, two decisive victories were gained by Constantine, over Maxentius, at the Milvian Bridge, Rome (312), and over Licinius at Adrianople (323), which put an end to the war.

Tenth Persecution, commenced under Diocletian, 302–305; continued under Galerius, 305–311.

The tenth persecution, the longest and the last, was the most ferocious, from the fact that the great Roman pagan party fully realized that it was a struggle for life or death, and that Christianity, unless now annihilated, would become master of the world. The Christians were estimated at one fifteenth of the total population. Taking the latter

to be one hundred and twenty millions, there were at that time eight million Christians. To avoid the possibility of exaggeration, and as we have read of great decrease in the population, let us suppose only half that number. The Empire under Galerius may then be justly likened to one large amphitheater with four million victims, the very purest, marked out for the arena or the flames. Edict followed edict, each more terrible than the former. In one of these, Galerius commanded that the fires should be made to burn more slowly. The substance of the whole was that Christianity must be crushed and burnt out from the face of the earth. Every Roman citizen was compelled to declare himself a follower of the national religion or die. Not a Christian church was to be left standing. Every copy of the Scriptures was to be delivered up and burnt on penalty of death.* At length, governors, informers, executioners, torturers grew weary, perhaps ashamed, of their work. The Empire was being depopulated. The better part of human nature revolted. The Emperor himself relented on his death-bed. The wolf and the tiger were surfeited and lay down to sleep at last. Thus ended the persecutions.

The death of Galerius was accompanied by striking circumstances. In consequence of his intemperate life, he was afflicted with an extraordinary corpulence. Ulcers broke out over his whole body, which was devoured by innumerable insects. During an interval of his agony, he issued an edict of toleration. This edict did not approve or adopt Christianity, but tolerated it, and closed with a wish that Christians would pray for him, which no doubt they did. Was Galerius himself converted?

After the close of the persecutions, thousands of new proselytes adopted Christianity. Instead of being ex-

*How many precious manuscript copies of the Gospels must have been destroyed! Some, no doubt, were hidden away, and may yet come to light.

terminated, the Christians now formed one, and the best, half of the population of the Empire.

During more than two centuries, Christianity had thus resisted the hatred of the Roman government and people, and baffled the ridicule of pagan philosophers. It immediately rose to the Roman throne, and became the religion of the civilized world. It had thus an opportunity to try an experiment, upon which depended the happiness of mankind, and which, if successful, would have settled all subsequent questions between capital and labor, between governments and people, between Christianity and science. The Church might have organized itself in the humble and holy spirit of Peter and Paul. It could have tried to introduce into the art of government the principles of Christ. Had it done so from that time to this—had popes, bishops, priests, emperors, kings, and statesmen written in their hearts and lives the verse which Ulpian, the minister of Alexander Severus, inscribed upon his palace wall, what wars would have been spared! what crimes would have remained uncommitted! how would the fields wave with plenty! what peace and prosperity would exist in wretched abodes now blighted by poverty and sickness; what obedience, order, and light would dwell in those dark and guilty haunts where now the communist, the socialist, the nihilist, the atheist gather together in midnight meetings to plot the dethronement of God and the destruction of mankind. But we are now about to see that, although victorious over the sword, the stake, the torture, and the amphitheater, a great portion of those Christians who called themselves the Church of Christ, abandoned the Gospel for temporal power and fleshly lusts.

Constantine the Great, sole Emperor. 324-337.

Immediately after the great civil wars following the death of Diocletian, Constantine ascended the throne as sole Emperor. He soon

removed the seat of government to Byzantium, thenceforth, in honor of him, called Constantinople.

Even before he grasped the reins of power, he had issued the celebrated edict of Milan, abolishing all laws and proceedings against Christians, and proclaiming universal freedom of conscience.

This was soon followed by other laws. Confiscated property was restored to Christians. The punishment of crucifixion and the breaking of the bones was abolished. The cross, from an emblem of the lowest ignominy, became a symbol of the highest glory. The gladiatorial combats in the amphitheater were modified, preparatory to their abolition, which finally took place under Theodosius the Great and his son Honorius, in 395. Criminals were no longer condemned to the arena. Prisons became a subject of investigation, and the poor slave at last obtained a more humane treatment and certain legal rights. Times had changed since the day when four hundred slaves were executed after the murder of Pedanius Secundus, and since Pliny praised the noble pastimes of the amphitheater as so necessary to the manly education of the Roman youths. A law commanded the observance of the Christian Sabbath and forbade public business on that day, except when connected with the emancipation of a slave. Constantine did not adopt Christianity as the exclusive religion of the State; he proclaimed absolute liberty of conscience, and he did what Prince Bismarck has since declared no government can permanently exist without doing, *i. e.*, he threw the weight of government into the scale of Christianity. His edict implied: if a man choose to worship a bull, or a serpent, or the sun, or a demon; if he choose Atheism as his God, and regard himself, his wife, and his children as candles presently to be blown out, he must not be forcibly prevented. But a State resting on such theories can not stand; nor has any rock been found solid

enough for the foundation of a State except Christianity. The idea of a prosperous government absolutely without religion is a delusion of the materialist. If not Christian, it will be anti-Christian, and the whole experience of history has shown that an anti-Christian State sinks deeper and deeper into misery, and at last falls.

In Nicea, or Nice (Bythinia, Asia Minor), Constantine convoked the first Ecumenical Council, consisting of three hundred bishops, supposed to represent the whole inhabited world. The Emperor personally took part in its proceedings; the learned historian Eusebius sitting at his right hand.

Even in the days of Paul, false teachers had entered the Church. Arius considered Christ the highest of created beings, but inferior to God the Father. Athanasius, following the Scriptures, urged the doctrine of the Trinity. The question was decided by the Council, which had been called together for that special purpose. It was settled in favor of Athanasius, and the Nicene Creed, drawn up by Eusebius, was definitively adopted.

Among the members of this Council were several German bishops. All the Gothic tribes settled on the Roman territory subsequently embraced Christianity in the form of Arianism. Bishop Ulfilas, a Goth, became an apostle of Christianity, converted his countrymen, and translated the Bible into the Gothic. This translation is the oldest monument of the German language. Some fragments have descended to us.

Constantine died at Nicomedia at the age of sixty-four. We are obliged to pass rapidly over many details, among others, the celebrated vision which caused him to assume the Labarum, or standard of the cross, and also the crimes and follies imputed to him after he had obtained supreme power. He was an able soldier and statesman, with a mind large enough to understand better than many of his

contemporaries the real position of the Empire. He saw in paganism a worn-out institution. The power and beauty of Christianity had attracted his attention, but not changed his heart. His vision seems to have been an invention of his own, or a dream exaggerated for his purpose. His subsequent course must be pronounced irreconcilable with real faith in Christianity. Paul also had a vision, and we here mark the difference between a real Christian and a false one. Paul committed no murders; was disgraced neither by rapaciousness nor prodigality; did not sink into the softness of Asiatic pomp, nor adorn his head with false hair of various colors. We may conclude, however, that Constantine, toward the close of his life, became ashamed of his follies. On the approach of death, he caused himself to be baptized, and manifested sincere repentance of his sins.

Julian the Apostate, 361-363.

The short reign of Emperor Julian was made memorable by a decree to abolish Christianity and restore paganism. Julian determined to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem in all its original splendor, and to recall the Jews to their country. The remarkable circumstances attending the failure of this attempt are generally known.

Julian fought bravely against the Germans, and in the year 357 gained a great victory at Strasburg over the Alemanni. Nevertheless, he must have foreseen that the Empire was drawing toward its fall. The Germans were every day becoming more formidable. The Emperor was not strong enough to prevent a Frankish tribe from permanently taking possession of one of his North-western provinces, the present Netherlands. His attempt to re-establish paganism had been as ineffectual as his project to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem. Although he pronounced the Christians a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men and odious to the gods, yet he declared it

was Christianity which had brought the Roman Empire to the brink of destruction. In other words, that helpless Christ, bound before Pilate, had overthrown the Roman Empire. And truly so He had. His Gospel had rent it asunder. Julian was killed in a war with Persia. While dying, he exclaimed: "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!"*

III.

IRRUPTION OF THE BARBARIANS.

A PERIOD OF ABOUT 200 YEARS, FROM THE DEATH OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE (363 A. D.) TO THE BYZANTINE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN I. (565 A. D.).

We now come to an astonishing period, during which Europe resembled an ocean agitated by the wildest tempests, wrecking and ingulfing kingdoms, tribes, and nations, and heaving up other kingdoms to the surface.

Who were the Barbarians? They were the German tribes, already familiar to us, the Celts (Gauls) and the Slavonians. What is meant by their irruption? The mighty and irresistible movements at this time of these vast and heterogeneous populations, first against each other and then against the Empire, of which they finally took possession, and upon the throne of which German warriors, one after the other, we may almost say, one upon the other, ascended. What set these tribes in motion? The arrival of the Huns from Asia (375). There had already been ominous movements of the Germans toward Rome; but it was the Huns who, by suddenly and violently forcing forward the tribes nearest

*Some historians deny this exclamation; others confirm it. It no doubt expresses the dying pagan's true state of mind.

them, propelled forward other neighboring tribes, thus commencing the crash, and afterward completing the universal chaos, by their own subsequent gigantic wars.

We pause a moment to glance at the relations between barbarian Europe and Rome, from the time of Augustus to this period. Irruptions of the Barbarians had in fact taken place long before the reign of Augustus. Brennus the Gaul had attacked Rome four hundred years before Christ, and we have seen that the Teutons and Cimbri had also defeated Roman armies (113 B.C.). The Germans and Romans then knew but little of each other; but from that time, wars had increased in number and importance. These wars, however, were interrupted by long intervals of peace and friendly intercourse, which made the two nations better acquainted. Roman traders, Christian missionaries, tourists, secret agents of the Empire, penetrated into Germany; the latter to collect information and foment dissensions among the tribes; for it has been said that Roman gold found its way deeper than the Roman sword into the German forests. A considerable area on the northern German frontier at length became neutral ground, inhabited by the populations of both countries mingling peacefully together. Fortresses and towns were here built. The Empire itself contained a large German element, to say nothing of the slaves who were continually brought in as prisoners of war, nor of the soldiers ever more and more recruited into the Roman armies. Various other classes of Germans crowded over the Alps to gratify curiosity, for purposes of trade, or to seek peaceful settlements in the mild Italian climate. In the great metropolis, German strangers might always be seen gazing at the unimagined wealth and magnificence around them.

We must also remember the fact that during the four centuries after Cæsar, the German population had increased, and the new generation of German children,

among their first impressions, must have learned to look toward Italy as a Promised Land which their race might one day possess. Rome, no doubt, had indulged in the delusion that she might incorporate Germany into her Eternal Empire, while the intelligent German, on discovering the weakness and effeminacy of the Romans, must have seen that the fertile fields of Italy might one day be transformed into German provinces.

We thus see that on the arrival of the Huns, these two great European powers, Rome and the Barbarians, as in the time of Augustus, still stood confronting each other. But during those four centuries, each had undergone ominous changes. Rome stood proud and sensual as ever, but no longer mistress of the world, nor even of her own Empire; weighed down by crimes and vices; sunk in voluptuous ease; insolent, cowardly, and weak. Germany poor, but with virtues which Rome had long cast away; hardy, healthy, robust; without art or agriculture; depending for her simple food upon the flocks and the chase. Rome, standing on rotten foundations, and ready to fall at the first shock; Germany, strong, warlike, having learnt the advantages of organization and conceived the idea of unity; discovering at the same time her own strength and the debility of her enemy, and just beginning to lay the massive foundations of the Empire of to-day.

Two changes in the position of Rome must be particularly noted. The introduction of German recruits into her armies by Cæsar had now borne its fatal consequences.* The German element had become stronger

* "Prof. Mommsen, of Berlin, thinks that but for the German campaigns of Cæsar, the Irruption of the Barbarians would have broken upon Rome four hundred years sooner, and that Europe, even to this day, enjoys advantages resulting from the wisdom and genius of that celebrated soldier and statesman. The civilization of Greece and Rome, he says, had thus time to establish itself upon the Mediterranean coast of Africa, in Spain, and on the shores of the Danube. Otherwise, Europe would now be as much under the influence of Indian and

than the Roman. Rome was, in a great degree, dependent upon German legions for success in war. "On the Lybian Desert," says one of her historians, "on the distant Euphrates, on the German Rhine, in the ranks of her Imperial Guard, the German had become a necessity."

We thus see that when the Huns came, the Germans were almost, so to speak, already in possession of the Empire. They had defended her frontier against their own countrymen; they had repressed her insurrections, achieved her victories, elevated and deposed her Emperors, and the reader will observe that immediately after the Huns' earliest conquests, German statesmen, German soldiers, German Emperors seized upon political power, the command of armies, and the right to decide important questions.

The second change is in the rise and triumph of Christianity. The Galilean, as Julian exclaimed, had indeed brought Rome to the brink of destruction. He had divided her population into two irreconcilable parties and incompatible modes of thought. The machinery of her government had been brought to a stand-still. Her oracles, her edicts, her blood-drenched amphitheaters, her altars, and her gods had in vain exhausted their utmost resources and become odious to the bulk of her population. A power had arisen within her bosom transcending laws and legions. The old Rome of paganism could neither abolish nor receive Christianity. She could neither go forward, recede, nor stand still. New wine required new bottles, for the old ones were bursting. At this critical moment, the untamed hordes of the Huns swooped upon her. A new order of things ensued, and

Assyrian culture as of the Greek and Roman; and that our school-boys, instead of Homer and Virgil, would be, perhaps, to-day studying the vedas of the Brahmins and the poems of the Indian poet Kalidasar."—*Römische Geschichte von Theodor Mommsen* (Berlin, 1856).

a new society, to which was committed the task of introducing Christianity as the governing principle of the world.

No. 1.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.*

From 361–363 Julian the Apostate was master of the whole Empire. He was succeeded by Jovian, who restored Christianity, and died after a reign of eight months. His successor, Valentinian I., perceiving his inability to govern the whole Empire, appointed his brother, Valens, Emperor of the East.

Western Empire.

Western Emperors from 364–476 *A.D.*

364–375. Valentinian I. Residence, Milan.

375–385. Gratian, son of Valentinian I. Murdered by the usurper Maximus. Invasion of the Huns.

385–392. Valentinian II., brother of Gratian. Murdered by Arbogast.

Eastern Empire.

Eastern, Greek, or Byzantine Emperors from 364–841 *A.D.*

364–375. Valens. Residence, Constantinople. Killed in the battle of Adrianople against the Goths.

378–395. Theodosius I. (the Great). On the death of Valens, Gratian appointed Theodosius Eastern Emperor. He overcame the Goths, defeated and slew the usurper Maximus, at last obtained supreme power, and became sole master of the Empire.

394–395. Theodosius the Great, sole Emperor. At the approach of death, he divided the Empire once more between his two sons Honorius and Arcadius.

N. B.—Thus the Empire which had been divided into Western and Eastern by Diocletian; reunited under the scepter of Constantine the Great; divided again by Valentinian I.; and once more united by Theodosius, was now divided again, and finally. It was not Theodosius' intention to divide his possessions into two Empires. He wished to retain them as one Empire, governed by two Emperors. The two Empires, however, never were again united.

* For the section entitled, "Irruption of the Barbarians," the reader will often find it convenient to consult this table.

WESTERN EMPIRE.

395–425. Honorius. Residence, Milan and Ravenna. Stilicho, his minister and general. Important Roman provinces break away from the Empire. Rome sacked by Alaric (410).

425–455. Valentinian III. Honoria. Aetius. Many Roman provinces fall away in Africa and elsewhere. Attila (451) defeated by Aetius near *Châlons-sur-Marne*. Attila invades Italy (452). Valentinian, jealous of Aetius' fame, kills him with his own hand. Valentinian assassinated.

455. Petronius Maximus, after murdering Valentinian III., usurps the throne.

456. Genseric plunders Rome. From this point to 476 (twenty years), the city of Rome and Italy present a scene of anarchy, plunder, murder, rebellion, and usurpation. The throne grasped by Ricimer, Majorianus Anthemius (Germans). At last, the Roman, Romulus Augustulus, a young boy, was raised to the throne (475)—the last Emperor of the Western Empire—and dethroned by Odoaker (476), king of the German tribe, the Heruli, allies of the Huns.

EASTERN EMPIRE.

395–408. Arcadius. Residence, Constantinople. Rufinus, his minister.

408–450. Theodosius II. The Huns insult and oppress the Eastern Empire.

450–457. Emperor Marcian, a resolute soldier, refuses tribute to Attila.

457–474. Leo I. The first Eastern Emperor crowned.

474–491. Zeno I. When the Western Empire had ceased to exist (476), the Eastern Empire took the name of Byzantine, or Greek Empire.

491–518. Anastasius I.

518–527. Justinus.

527–565. Justinian I. Belisarius and Narsis reconquer Africa and Italy (Vandals and East Goths).

565–578. Justinian II. The Eastern, or Byzantine, Empire now appears as degraded and contemptible as the Western had been. Hatred and jealousy among the members of the imperial family lead to continual murders. The Empire is insulted and robbed by Bulgarians and Avars. The Mohammedans wrest from it all its Asiatic provinces.

Remark—We pass over 130 years and seven insignificant Emperors.

717–741. Leo II.

741–775. Constantine V.

775–780. Leo III. murdered by his wife, Irene.

Western Empire.	Eastern Empire.
Odoaker founds the kingdom of Italy upon the ruins of the Western Empire.	780–797. Constantine VI. murdered by his mother, Irene. 797–802. Irene, Empress, deposed and banished. 802–811. Nicephorus. Disastrous wars against the Bulgarians and Mohammedans, the latter under Haroun al Raschid. We here leave the Byzantine Empire, reminding the reader that, dating from its final division by Theodosius, it lasted 1,058 years (395–1453 A.D.). It was then overthrown and retained by the Mohammedans, who have held it ever since.

The Huns were a hideously ugly, ferocious, nomadic Mongolian tribe, originally from Central Asia (Altai Mountains). They had for centuries waged war against the Chinese. The great Chinese wall was built two hundred years before Christ, to protect the Celestial Empire against their incursions. But no wall could keep them away from Europe. Tradition represented them as the offspring of evil spirits and witches. As if nature had not made them ugly enough, it was their habit to inflict a deep cut upon the chin and cheeks of male children immediately after birth, in order to prevent the growth of the beard. They were short, thick, square-shouldered, muscular, yellow in complexion, with prominent cheek-bones and small, bright eyes, set deep in the head—altogether more resembling beasts than human beings. They never dwelt under a roof, but lived, ate, drank, bought, sold, and slept on horseback. Their only occupation was hunting, war, and plunder. Their food was flesh, nearly raw, wild roots, and herbs. Their dress consisted of linen or the furs of field-mice and other

beasts, sewed together, and worn night and day until the garments fell off in rags. In war, they used the spear, bow, and sword. They knew the art of casting a sling suddenly around their opponent, and thus making him a helpless prisoner. Cunning, treacherous, brave, hardy, destitute of morality or virtue, rabid after gold and booty, intoxicated with the idea of luxurious living and abundant plunder, thirsting for blood like a pack of ferocious wolves or an army of demons, their numbers continually increasing through conquest, they came on, an irresistible hurricane, burning, murdering, ravaging, and compelling all the tribes in their way to join their forces as allies or slaves. Sometimes, on getting possession of an advantageous territory, they rested a while. In the year 375, they crossed the Ural and the Volga into Europe and conquered the Alani, whom they compelled to join them. Under their leader, or king, Balamir, they then continued their onward march to the west and south.

The Alani were a Scythian nomadic tribe of dauntless riders, who covered with their tents the plains north of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Caspian, between the Don and the Volga. They were the first to fall in the way of the storming Huns, and were compelled to follow in their steps.

The next European people in their war-path were the East Goths,* whose country reached from the Caucasus and Black Sea over nearly the whole extent of what is now called European Russia. The Huns crossed the Don, attacked the East Goths under their centenarian king, Hermanarich, and completely routed them. Their venerable chief killed himself. The heir to his throne was slain in the battle. The East Goths fled for safety to the country of the West Goths, on the west side of the Dniester. Balamir now attacked the West Goths,

* Ostrogoths and Visigoths.

defeated and drove them from their home. The fugitive West Goths crossed the Danube—two hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and children; perhaps four or five hundred thousand people—and demanded protection and permission to settle within the Roman Empire. Valens, unable to resist their demands, made a treaty with them, giving them for their home Thrace, or Mœsia, near Constantinople, south of the Danube, and promised to supply them with food, on condition that they would serve in the Roman army. This treaty was violated by the Emperor. The Goths were insulted, oppressed, and left without provisions. They rose in a great insurrection, laid waste the country between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains, and hewed their way nearly to Constantinople. Valens personally led a large army against them. At Adrianople (376), the Roman army was destroyed and Valens slain. The Goths continued their advance toward Constantinople, and threatened to become masters of the Eastern Empire. The Huns, meanwhile, took permanent posssesion of the conquered East Gothic territory, founded on the Danube a powerful kingdom, which soon extended over a great part of Eastern Europe; built their wooden capital in Hungary, received embassies, carried on wars against Rome, and, during eighty years, proved the scourge of the Empire and of entire Europe. The rout of the East and West Goths by Balamir did not, however, destroy either of those tribes. It precipitated the West Goths as conquerors upon Constantinople and opened the way for the subsequent establishment of their powerful kingdom in Spain and Gaul, while the East Goths, although for a time held in subjection in the region of the Danube, were, in fact, on their way to establish a kingdom greater than that of Attila.

Upon the death of Valens, Gratian appointed Theodosius (the Great) to reign over the Eastern Empire. The

new sovereign pursued a pacific policy with regard to the Goths. He recruited large numbers into his army. He gave others settlements upon the Roman territory under favorable conditions, and he did what the weak and cruel Valens neglected to do, faithfully performed his promises. He thus transformed them, at least for a time, from enemies into friends and allies. The refractory he cut to pieces. He did the best that could be done, but what he did was fatal to Rome. His policy was like those remedies which lull the patient, but only suspend the disease and delay its fatal termination. He was nominally an Emperor, but nevertheless the Eastern Empire was now ruled, in army and government, by Germans, permanently settled within the limits of the Empire. The settlement of the West Goths on the Roman territory, opened a vast new field of ambition to the other tribes. While the Eastern Empire thus heavily felt the consequences of the Hunnish invasion, the Western Empire was also rapidly falling into a state of dissolution.

After Gratian's death, his brother Valentinian II., a feeble boy, was glad to strengthen himself on his throne by sharing the imperial authority with a brave German general, Arbogast, a Frank by birth. After some years, however, alarmed at the growing authority exercised by Arbogast, Valentinian determined to take the reins into his own hands, and sent to his general a written order dismissing him from his service. On receiving it, the haughty German answered: "My position depends upon no Emperor." He then tore the letter and cast the fragments at his feet. A day or two afterward, Valentinian was found strangled in his bed-chamber. Too cunning to proclaim himself Emperor, Arbogast placed his creature, Eugenius, upon the throne. Theodosius, with a large army, principally of Goths, now marched against the usurper, who, with an equally powerful army of Franks, confronted him at Aquileia (close to the head of

the Adriatic, near Venice). After a murderous battle of two days, Theodosius gained a complete victory. Arbogast and Eugenius were both slain, and Theodosius became sole master of the Empire. His reign was suddenly cut short by death. But he had ruled long enough to make some important changes, and to perceive the imprudence of intrusting the government to a single person. He therefore divided the Empire again into Western and Eastern between his two sons, Honorius and Arcadius.

Theodosius was distinguished by his earnest endeavors to destroy paganism, and to carry out Christian reforms after the example of Constantine the Great. He was in fact the last Roman Emperor worthy of the name, at once a soldier and a statesman. His measures were, however, sometimes strangely cruel.

An incident illustrates the temporal power already at that time acquired by the bishops of the Roman Church, and foreshadows the coming greatness and power of the Roman Hierarchy. The town of Thessalonica had risen in sedition. Theodosius repressed the insurrection, and, instigated by his minister, the cruel and perfidious Rufinus, he determined to execute bloody vengeance. He led the people to suppose he had pardoned their crime, and treacherously invited them to games in the circus, at the same time secretly posting around them a large body of barbarian troops. The people joyfully assembled and awaited the signal for the games. The signal was indeed given, but instead of games, the troops were let loose upon the rebels, and massacred indiscriminately from seven to fifteen thousand men, women, and children. When the Emperor, after this act, came to the Church of Milan to perform his devotions, he was confronted in the porch by the Archbishop Ambrose, who branded him as a murderer, and refused to admit him until he had publicly made penance for his crimes.

The Emperor, when his rage had subsided, was himself appalled at the greatness of his guilt, and complied with the condition.

In this manner, first by acts of grandeur and justice, afterward by arrogance and injustice, the Roman Bishops and Popes laid the foundation of the most terrible power which has yet appeared upon the earth.

Honorius resided principally at Ravenna, a feeble, insignificant prince, ruled by his German minister and general, Stilicho, a Vandal.

Arcadius, as feeble and insignificant a personage as his brother Honorius, resided at Constantinople. His government was now conducted by his minister, the German Rufinus, a Frank. Both Rufinus and Stilicho had been ministers to Theodosius. In order to understand their maneuvers, we must bear in mind that each was aiming at supreme power, without regard to ways or means. They were thus rivals and deadly enemies, bent on each other's destruction. The Eastern and Western scepters were now both in the hands of Germans, playing a great game for the throne. Both met their destruction. Arcadius had received the scepter at the age of eighteen; Honorius in the eleventh year of his age. Stilicho was naturally endowed with noble qualities, but they were perverted, and he showed himself in the end a ruthless assassin. Rufinus was a wicked man, avaricious, cruel, vindictive, cowardly, treacherous, and with such a power of dissimulation that for years he perpetrated the basest crimes, and cherished the most traitorous designs, without being in the slightest degree suspected by his master.

It was the plan of Rufinus to effect a marriage between his daughter and Arcadius; but a plot in the Byzantine Court baffled his hopes, and resulted in the marriage of Arcadius with the daughter of an enemy of Rufinus. Trembling for his authority, even for his life,

in the hope of assuring both, of dethroning Arcadius, and, in the resulting confusion, of seating himself upon the vacant throne, he secretly invited the Goths to invade the Empire. At this moment, he heard that Stilicho was advancing toward Constantinople with a great army, and seeking Arcadius, not as an enemy, but as a friend. Theodosius had appointed Stilicho guardian of both his sons, with the authority to divide justly between them the Eastern and Western Empires. Stilicho had thus to divide, not only the provinces and the private property of the deceased master, but the legions, cohorts, squadrons, both Roman and Barbarian, with which he and Alaric had won their fame and gained the glorious victories of Theodosius' reign. Arcadius had requested that the troops now to belong to the Eastern Empire, should be sent to Constantinople; but he had not expected that Stilicho would lead them in person. Stilicho had married the niece of the Emperor Honorius, and been raised to the supreme rank of Commander-in-Chief of all the cavalry and infantry of the Western Empire. He was in fact Emperor, and regarded as such by the armies both of the West and East. He was well acquainted with Rufinus' vindictive disposition, and with the treacherous crimes committed against himself, and he determined to gratify both his ambition and revenge, by putting his rival to death. Rufinus heard with terror of the expected arrival of his enemy; he procured from Arcadius an order that Stilicho should send on the troops to Constantinople, but not lead them in person. The general received this order at Thessalonica (now Salonica), about three hundred miles from Constantinople; rendered instant obedience, and returned to Rome alone. The army advanced toward Constantinople, and, strange as it may seem, the soldiers were generally intrusted with the secret (and kept it inviolable), that their mission was to put Rufinus to death. Instead of warning him, messen-

gers had been sent to intimate that there was a disposition to raise him to the throne. The army had been intrusted to the command of Gainas, a brutal Goth. As it reached Constantinople, the Emperor, Arcadius, with his court and the guilty Rufinus, came forth to do honor to the military force which Arcadius thought was to protect, and Rufinus to overthrow, the throne. Rufinus made his way into the midst of the troops, perhaps expecting to be proclaimed Emperor, when suddenly the wings of the army silently closed around him, making him a prisoner in their circle. Gainas gave the signal; a soldier plunged his sword into the traitor's breast, and Rufinus fell dead at the feet of Arcadius.

Stilicho did not derive the benefit he expected from the murder of Rufinus. He did not become Emperor of the East; but his power in the Western Empire was increased by two wars, described further on, in each of which, for the time, he saved Rome from destruction. The strong sword of Theodosius had repressed the turbulent spirit of the Goths, but after his death, and encouraged, as we have seen, by the traitor Rufinus, the West Goths, under their king, Alaric, marched into the Eastern Empire, burning, laying waste, massacring the men, and carrying the women away into slavery.

With a large fleet, Stilicho hastened to the relief of Arcadius, and arrested these devastations. Alaric now (400–403) invaded and ravaged Italy. The Emperor, Honorius, remained in his inaccessible fortress of Ravenna. Stilicho confronted the forces of Alaric, defeated them at Polentia (403), and concluded a treaty with the king of the West Goths, by which he agreed to pay that powerful chief a subsidy of four thousand pounds in gold, thus purchasing, if not his friendship, at least the withdrawal of his forces from Italy. The enemies of Stilicho vainly endeavored to accomplish his ruin by representing this treaty as treasonable,

although it had saved the capital from plunder. His life was frequently attempted by assassins.

The second event which gave Stilicho a still greater popularity was the irruption of Radagaisus, a ferocious Barbarian who had united under his command a number of heathen German and Celtic tribes, Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi, Alani, etc. Alaric had scarcely withdrawn his forces from Italy when these ravenous hordes, 400,000 in number, burst over the Alps into Italy, with the loud-proclaimed determination to plunder and burn Rome and massacre its inhabitants. The helpless city would have fallen without a blow in its defense had it not been for Stilicho. Public resources were exhausted; province after province had been abandoned; the Empire had shrunk to the narrow compass of Italy, and the cowardly Honorius, trembling behind his fortifications in Ravenna, awaited the final destruction of his realm. Rome was paralyzed by terror. Stilicho alone preserved his presence of mind. He collected all the forces within reach, and by his assurances and example inspired the people with courage. In this crisis, Rome reached out her hands for protection to her despised slaves. Stilicho offered freedom and two pieces of gold to every slave enlisting in his army. It had not been possible to gather a force strong enough to confront Radagaisus on the field of battle, but by means of science and prudence, which the savage knew neither how to employ nor to resist, he inveigled the invaders into a system of intrenchments, until at last they found themselves entangled and imprisoned within strong lines of soldiery, unable to advance, retreat, or escape. The vast multitude were gradually reduced by famine. Their attempted sallies were crushed by the swords of the Roman warriors. Radagaisus surrendered, and was beheaded. His surviving savages were sold as slaves.

Stilicho had now become too great for a private sub-

ject. His enemies once more united against him. His treaty with Alaric was again branded as a treaty, not of peace but of servitude, and the tribute withheld. The frightened Honorius was made to believe that his life and throne were in danger. Stilicho was suddenly arrested and executed (408), with his family. After his death, his friends and the large party which supported him, were persecuted, and their fortunes confiscated on the pretext that they were Arians. Alaric and his Goths had also become Arian Christians. Stilicho's friends fled to Alaric, who, nothing loath, gathered an overwhelming army, and marched with his Goths upon the gates of Rome.

At the news of his rapid approach, the affrighted Senate sent deputies, who endeavored to avert the calamity. "The Romans," said the chief delegate, "are strongly entrenched and able to defend themselves. Beware how you drive our innumerable army to desperation." Alaric laughed. "The thicker the hay, the more easily it is mown."—"Tell us, at least," resumed the delegate, "what part of our treasures you require, to leave us in peace."—"I will tell you," replied the German master of Cæsar's Eternal Empire: "all the gold and silver in your city; all your precious possessions; all the slaves who can prove a title to the name of Barbarian!"—"What, then, O king, do you condescend to leave us?"—"Your lives!" The city was taken and given up to plunder (410). During three days, a horrible slaughter filled the streets with dead bodies. The forty thousand Roman slaves rejoiced in the opportunity to wreak bloody vengeance upon their masters. The treasures within the walls were plundered. Alaric had a certain respect for Christianity. He ordered his men to abstain from the greater excesses; but, although there were among them many half converted Christians, as appears from several humane incidents, yet in general,

the sensual and merciless hordes followed, unrestrainedly, the impulse of their passions. Prisoners were often put to the torture in order to extort from them confessions of hidden treasures.

Immediately after this event, Alaric died, and was buried with Gothic grandeur. The river Busento, in the south of Italy, whither he had gone for the purpose of conquering the island of Sicily, was turned from its course. The body, in full armor, mounted on his war-charger, loaded with priceless treasures, was lowered into the river-bed. The waters were then led back and allowed to flow over the sepulcher, and all laborers (war prisoners) employed in the work were slain, that the Romans might never discover the resting-place of the Barbarian chief. But for his early death, Alaric would have at once extinguished the Western Empire. He failed in his attempt to found a West Gothic kingdom in Italy; but after his death, the West Goths, under Alaric's brother-in-law, Adolphus, left Italy and founded the great kingdom of the West Goths, or Visigoths, in Spain and Gaul. This kingdom lasted three hundred years, and was overthrown by the Arabs, in 710. Theodoric (Alaric's son, killed in the battle of Châlons-sur-Marne) was its most famous king.

The Eastern Emperor Arcadius died in 408, and was succeeded by his son, Theodosius II.*

Whatever may have been the character and plans of Stilicho, he was, for the time, the savior of his country, which, after his death, was precipitated into more disgraceful humiliations and deeper abysses of ignominy and ruin, until its final extinction in 476. Honorius died in 423, and was succeeded by Valentinian III.

During Valentinian's reign, the Irruption of the Barbarians reached its culminating point in the advance of

* For the succeeding Emperors of the Byzantine Empire, the reader may consult Chronological Table No. 1.

Attila into Western Europe and his defeat on the Catalonian plains (battle of Châlons-sur-Marne).

After the conquest of the East and West Goths by Balamir and his Huns (375), the West Goths had settled in Thrace. The Huns took possession of the territory of European Russia, Poland, and Hungary, and here founded a new kingdom. They remained here half a century, and adopted some forms of Roman civilization. The East Goths, after their rout, had been permitted to settle upon the north and south banks of the Danube; those on the south side under the protection of Rome; those on the north subject to the Huns, who allowed them their own constitution and kings, but ruled them as conquerors. Both East and West Goths had thus been occupying for a time the territory marked on our maps as Turkey in Europe. In their greediness for gain, the Hunnish kings hired out their hordes as mercenaries. Theodosius himself had resorted to the aid of these hirelings. The king of the Huns, Rutila, died (433), leaving his kingdom to his nephews Attila and Bleda. These two Barbarians subjected all the various tribes between the Caspian and the Danube. They had reached the height of power by murdering a great number of chiefs at the head of rival Hunnish tribes. They extended their sway over many German and Scythian tribes, Vandals, Gepidæ, Heruli, Slavi, and nomadic tribes in Asia. Attila now, like other great conquerors, conceived a plan of universal Empire. That he might secure supreme power without a rival (444), he caused his brother Bleda to be murdered. This murder was not a secret assassination. Attila proclaimed it as an act of public necessity, and it was celebrated with acclamations by a national festival. He gave out that he had found the sword of Mars, the God of War, and thus kindled in his followers an unexampled lust for conquest. After an unsuccessful campaign against Per-

sia, he returned into Europe, subjecting and desolating the territory as he advanced. He was called, and he proudly called himself, the Scourge of God, sent for the punishment of the nations. To ferocity he added cunning. His sword was not more powerful in cutting down his foes than his intrigues in secretly disseminating among them dissensions which rendered their defeat more certain. His savage followers paid him a kind of worship. They looked up to him as a god. A proverb says: "*In a field trodden by Attila's horse, the grass never grows again.*" According to another: "*When he struck his sword against the ground, Constantinople and Rome trembled.*" And so indeed they did. His ambition increased with his conquests. He determined to extend his power over both East and West; in short, to become master of Europe. He attacked the Byzantine Empire, routed her armies, and devastated her territory. Theodosius II. was defeated in three battles. Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece were ravaged, and seventy cities laid in ruins. Theodosius II. saved the Eastern Empire by an ignominious peace and the payment of an enormous tribute, which Attila subsequently doubled. Theodosius died in 450. His successor, Marcian (450–457), a stout-hearted soldier, refused the tribute and determined upon war. Another circumstance aided in saving Constantinople. Honoria, a sister of the Western Emperor, Valentinian III., was held in confinement at Rome, on account of her immoral private life. Inflamed at once by ambition and revenge, she transmitted to Attila her ring as the pledge of her affection; entreated him to claim her as his lawful wife, and with her a right to the imperial Western throne. The savage conqueror, whose figure, according to report, was scarcely human, and who, even at that time, was continually adding to the number of his wives, availed himself of the pretext, and demanded the hand of the fair Honoria. His demand was rejected.

His intended bride was, by Valentinian III., instantly forced into a marriage with an obscure person, and subsequently immured in a dungeon for life. Attila proclaimed his determination to seize his bride and throne by the force of war.

Another circumstance offered a pretext for advancing into Western Europe. The Vandals, under Genseric, had established a kingdom comprehending all the north coast of Africa, the terror of the Mediterranean and its shores. Theodoric, king of the West Goths, son of the great Alaric, had given his daughter in marriage to Genseric, king of the Vandals. Suspecting his wife of conspiring against him, Genseric caused her nose and ears to be cut off, and scornfully sent her back thus mutilated to the court of Theodoric at Toulouse. Theodoric, supported by the imperial Roman government of the West, armed for war against Genseric. The latter, with rich presents, sent for aid to Attila, who promised his assistance, and hastened his march westward. Theodoric, suppressing his natural desire to inflict immediate punishment for his own deep wrong, concluded to add all his forces to the great army with which Aetius, the powerful Roman general, was preparing to oppose the advance of the furious barbarian.

Attila had now concentrated into one great body all the subjects and allies whom he could bring together. With an army of 500,000 horsemen (some say 750,000), he left his royal residence of wooden houses in Hungary and commenced his march of eight hundred miles through the heart of Europe. The terror of his name and ferocity, "the flame of his sword and the lightning of his spear," paralyzed all opposition. He crossed the Rhine, the Mosel, the Seine, conquering Strasburg, Worms, Spire, Treves, Mayence, Metz, Laon, Toul, Langres, Rheims, and Besancon. Some towns escaped destruction by what the Christians considered miracles, but

the greater part were besieged, taken by storm, plundered, burned to the ground, and the inhabitants massacred. It was the custom of the Huns, on storming a town, to kill every one, from the priest at the altar to the mother and the infant in her arms. Metz was destroyed on Easter Sunday. One solitary chapel marked the place where it had stood. Auxerre was burned and the region ravaged for fifty miles round. Orleans was fiercely besieged and nearly taken. The Huns impatiently waited the moment of massacre and plunder. In the town thousands lay prostrate in prayer, calling on God for help. Their pious bishop, Anianus, prayed with and comforted them, assuring them that they would not be abandoned. He sent a messenger to the ramparts to report if succor was in sight. The messenger returned twice with a negative answer, but the third time with the news that he could faintly discern a small cloud on the distant horizon. The cloud became each moment larger; banners, squadrons at length appeared, and Aetius and Theodoric advanced with their Gothic thousands. Attila had come to Orleans to secure an advantageous position, commanding the passage of the Loire. The army of Aetius and Theodoric was so powerful that Attila withdrew his forces to the not far distant Catalaunian plains as a better battle-field. He was followed by Aetius, who, without having actually assumed the purple, was, under the contemptible and criminal Valentinian III., the real Emperor of Western Rome.

Eighty years had passed since the Huns had first broken into Europe. The wave of irruption had now reached its height and was about to break; its object, the destruction of European civilization and religion.

Attila was at the head of myriads of warriors. The kings and nations of Germany and Scythia had obeyed his call; not only his allied tribes, led by their kings, but the tribes they had subjected and others who had volun-

tarily joined them, allured by the scent of blood and plunder. Among them, beside the Huns, were the East Goths, the Gepidæ, the Marcomanni, the Heruli, the Alani, the Suevi, the Thuringii, the Longobardi, and several Slavonian tribes. To confront this mass of barbarians, Aetius, beside his Romans, had with him the northern and western German and Celtic tribes; the Saxons, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Alemanni, the West Goths, led by their brave king Theodoric, and his two eldest sons. Nearly the whole European population—that is, a great portion of the German tribes and both the Eastern and Western Roman Empires—were involved in this war. Aetius was of Gothic descent. Attila stood the impersonation of heathen Asiatic barbarism; Aetius and Theodoric, of the Christian Roman German civilization. Attila, sitting upon his horse on a hill, at the head of his hordes, rose in his stirrups and made a brief speech. The shrieks and shouts were for a moment hushed. "If you are to die, you are to die! Some who advance *may* live; but *death* shall be the fate of every one who flies. Now keep your eyes on me and *forward!*" The battle was one of the bloodiest ever fought. Attila was defeated and driven from the field. He withdrew to a considerable distance and, in expectation of another attack in the morning, spent the night building a huge pile of combustibles upon which, with the savage grandeur of Sardanapalus, he himself and his chieftains, like so many demons, determined to pass from the earth in flames. But Aetius and his army had suffered too heavy a loss to pursue the enemy. Historians generally agree in estimating the dead bodies on the field at the almost incredible number of 160,000. The noble King Theodoric was among the slain. The Burgundians had been almost annihilated. According to a legend (the subject of a painting by Kaulbach), the battle had been fought with such fury that the disembodied spirits of the combatants

continued fighting three days and three nights in the air. After the battle, Attila returned to Hungary, but on the subsequent year, re-appeared in Italy with fresh hosts to claim his bride and her dowry, and to seize upon the Western Empire.

On this march he destroyed the town of Aquileia. The fugitives fled from the main-land to the lagoons or shallow waters of the Adriatic, and there founded the city and republic of Venice. Beside Aquileia and several other cities, Milan, Pavia, Verona, Padua were stormed, and North Italy devastated. Attila then advanced to the gates of Rome, about forty years after the sack of Alaric, with the intention of plundering that city. He was dissuaded by the Roman bishop, or Pope Leo I., who reminded him that Alaric had died immediately after desecrating the sacred city. Attila then pursued his course into Southern Italy with the intention of conquering that peninsula, and there founding a great kingdom. But he now suddenly died, it is said, by the hand of Idilco, one of his many beautiful wives. He was buried, like Alaric, with ceremonies corresponding to his life and deeds. The iron coffin which contained his body was placed in one of silver, and that in one of gold. He was buried in the night, and the prisoners of war who dug his grave were slain, that his resting-place might never be desecrated by the despised Romans. His warriors mourned him by making deep incisions in their faces that their demi-god might be appropriately wept for with tears of blood.

Attila (or Etzel) precipitated the great movement of the Barbarians toward Southern Europe, and shook the already tottering fabric of Rome to its foundation. Whole tribes were swept from their settlements, as houses, bridges, etc., by an inundation. Populous regions were converted into solitudes and speedily crowded again by the tumultuous arrival of fresh fugitive tribes. Attila

boasted that the Goths had fled before him from one extremity of Europe to the other. At one time, he reigned over the immense region reaching from the Volga and the Caspian and Black seas to the depths of the German forests as far as the Rhine and the Baltic. Some think his Eastern frontier reached to China. Besides his Huns, the Slavonians and a great portion of the German tribes bowed under his scepter. In extent, his dominions might almost compare with those of Augustus. At least, it was his intention to make them as extensive by the conquest of Italy and East and West Europe. What would the world have become had he succeeded in his projects! After his death, his Empire, like that of Alexander, broke to pieces. His chieftains cast lots for territories and tribes. The Huns sunk into insignificance and almost disappeared.

Attila sometimes showed a certain magnanimity. In 448, he was preparing to make war upon Theodosius II., whom he accused of protecting deserters from the Hunnish army. In order to avert this war, Theodosius sent two ambassadors, Priscus and Maximinus, to the court of Attila. Priscus gives an interesting account of the pomp and grandeur of this barbarian king. On being admitted, with much difficulty and ceremony, and not without a bribe, to the royal presence, they found his majesty seated upon an elevated wooden throne. Maximinus advanced and saluted him respectfully, presenting a letter from Theodosius and adding the words: "*The Emperor hopes your majesty and your majesty's family are well.*" Attila answered: "*May all the Romans be as well as they wish me!*" The reason of this contemptuous reply was as follows: Theodosius, by his minister, Chrysaphius, had promised an immense sum to Edekon, one of Attila's officers, for assassinating his master, and Edekon had betrayed the plan to Attila. Attila had the magnanimity to abstain from the vengeance which, on

several occasions, he could easily have taken. He might have put to death the envoys of Theodosius. All Constantinople believed he would lay the capital in ashes. He merely reproached the Emperor with his treachery, and demanded the head of Chrysaphius. He was a hero of the German poems called the "Niebelungen," where Theodoric also appears. In his court, Asiatic savage bestiality was mixed with the voluptuousness and pompous splendor of Roman civilization. The stranger might imagine himself at Constantinople or Ravenna. The Hunnish generals, the court officers and their numerous wives were sumptuously clothed and fed. They had adopted the custom of Roman baths. They moved through rooms filled with costly furniture, magnificent carpets, curtains, etc. Their banquets were prepared by Greek cooks, and served in massive silver plate. The chieftains, and even their horses, were adorned with the most expensive ornaments. What a change for a people who, before their irruption, had never been beneath a roof, and who had worn their primitive garments till they dropped to pieces from their unwashed limbs!

Final Extinction of the Western Empire, 452-476 A.D.

After the death of Attila, the Western Empire sunk rapidly. Valentinian III. became alarmed at the greatness of Aetius, to whom he had reluctantly felt compelled to grant his daughter in marriage. One day Aetius entered the imperial palace to complain of delays in his nuptials, when Valentinian drew his sword (the first, it is said, he had ever drawn) and plunged it into the breast of the general who had saved the Empire. Before the murder was publicly known, orders were secretly given for the assassination of all the powerful friends of Aetius. Base as were the characters of so many of the Roman Emperors, the historian is continually tempted to declare the last one more vile than any of his predecessors. The licentiousness of Valentinian was, the

very next year, his destruction. Having inflicted upon a senator, Maximus, the greatest of injuries, Maximus determined on revenge. He sent two assassins, who, in broad daylight, at a public festival, in presence of the court, the troops, and the people, stabbed their victim to the heart. Instead of offering opposition, all the spectators beheld the incident with joy. Maximus immediately seized the vacant throne.

Maximus, 455.

The new Emperor was not much more worthy than his predecessor. His wife having died, he compelled Eudoxia, the wife of the murdered Emperor Valentinian, to accept him for her husband. Unable to resist, she sought at least revenge. Undeterred by the example of Honoria, she invited Genseric, the king of the Vandals, to take the city and rescue her from her tyrant. Genseric, whose trade was piracy, and who demanded nothing better than to add the plunder of Rome to his other exploits, soon arrived with a powerful fleet at the mouth of the Tiber, pushed rapidly on to Rome, stormed the city, and delivered it up during fourteen days and nights to his rapacious savages. All the treasures yet to be found were borne away, even the brass and copper. The Empress, who, in expectation of a gracious welcome, advanced to meet her liberator, was, with her daughters, also unceremoniously seized, robbed, and obliged to follow as a captive. Thousands of both sexes were carried away as slaves; wives, husbands, parents, children sold and torn apart. Among the spoils were several articles of Jewish worship, mentioned in the Old Testament, the gold table, the gold candlestick with six branches, which had once been exhibited to the Roman people in the triumph of Titus. The Vandals were distinguished, not only by robbery and murder, but by a particular delight in destroying monuments of literature and art. The statues,

Genseric storms and sacks Rome, 455.

etc., which they could not carry away, they mutilated or dashed to pieces. Very probably some of the half destroyed ancient statues in our modern museums were defaced by these barbarians.

Death of Maximus.

On the approach of Genseric and his Vandals, Maximus had sought safety in flight, but, recognized by the mob, he was pelted with stones, cut to pieces by the soldiers, and pitched into the Tiber. Italy and the city of Rome were now in a most pitiable condition. Nine Emperors followed each other like shadows. The Byzantine Emperor, Leo I., and his successor, Zeno I., claimed Italy as their heritage, and sometimes succeeded in placing their lieutenants upon the Western throne. But the most powerful ruler was Ricimer, the sanguinary chief of the Suevi, who for seventeen years seated mere straw Emperors upon the throne, and governed in their name. The power of Genseric had now reached such a height that life and property were nowhere safe on the Mediterranean shores. The Eastern and Western Empires united at length to crush the ubiquitous pirates. Anthemius, appointed by the Byzantine Court with Ricimer's consent, now became Roman Emperor. An immense fleet, equipped by the two Empires, sailed for Carthage, the capital of Genseric. Winds favorable to them kept Genseric's fleet idle in the harbor. The kingdom of the Vandals seemed destined to destruction. But the cunning Genseric, by affecting submission, obtained a five days' truce, during which the wind changed, enabling him to bring out all his irresistible fire-ships, which destroyed the Roman fleet and made the insolent savage stronger than ever. Ricimer now demanded to place a new creature of his, Olibrius, upon the throne. The Romans refused. Ricimer stormed the city, caused Anthemius to be slain, and elevated Olibrius in his place, when a pestilence suddenly broke out and swept both

Ricimer and Olibrius into the grave. The throne was now seized by Glycerius, a brave but unknown German soldier, who was soon dethroned, and Julius Nepos appointed in his place by the Byzantine Emperor, Leo I. A revolt drove Nepos away. Orestes, a Roman general, then crowned his son Romulus Augustus, called Augustulus, *i. e.*, Augustus the Small, a beautiful boy of fifteen. Augustulus had reigned only a year when Odoaker, king of the Heruli, stormed Rome, slew Orestes, and dethroned Augustulus, who, however, was suffered to live as a private citizen upon an annuity granted for his maintenance. Odoaker thus extinguished the Western Roman Empire and ascended the throne with the title of King of Italy. At about the same time Syagrius, the last Roman Consul in Gaul, was defeated by Clovis, or Clodowig, king of the Franks, as we shall presently more particularly relate. The Western Empire had existed eighty-one years after the death of Theodosius the Great. The city of Rome had existed 1,230 years. When Odoaker took possession of Italy, the Roman Senate acquiesced in the measure and petitioned the Byzantine Emperor Zeno I. to permit him to administer Italian affairs in his quality of patrician. They implored his Eastern majesty "to become himself the sole monarch of both the Eastern and Western Empires." Odoaker, satisfied with the reality of power, suffered Zeno to flatter himself with the fascinating shadow. Since the days of Rufinus and Stilicho there had been jealousy and enmity between Rome and Constantinople. After the fall of the Western Empire and the gradual rise of the Papal power, the Byzantine court continually aspired to govern Rome, and the Roman bishops or popes watched eagerly an opportunity to

Glycerius, W. Emperor, 473.

Julius Nepos, W. Emperor.

Romulus Augustulus, last W. Emperor, 476.

Odoaker, King of Italy, destroys the Western Roman Empire, 476.

throw off the troublesome yoke. This circumstance sheds light upon the alliance of the ambitious Roman Bishops with the warlike Franks; upon the coronation of Charlemagne; and upon the final blending together of the Roman Church and the Holy Roman (German) Empire.

What became of Italy after the fall of the Western Empire.

From the extinction of the Western Empire by Odoaker to the time of Charlemagne, Italy passed through three periods and four forms of government: The kingdom of the German Odoaker (476–493), which lasted seventeen years; the kingdom of the East Goths, under Theodoric and his successors (493–553), sixty-three years; the exarchate, or government of the exarchs or vice-kings of the Byzantine Empire (553–752), two hundred years, and the kingdom of the Lombards (574–774), about two hundred years, leading up to Charlemagne.

Remark: The exarchate and the kingdom of the Lombards were contemporaneous, each ruling over different parts of Italy; therefore constituting but one period.

IV.

FROM THE IRRUPTION OF THE BARBARIANS TO THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE.

The reader will bear in mind that the period which takes its name from the Irruption of the Barbarians comprises about two hundred years—from Julian to Justinian I.—(361–565 A.D.). At its close, Europe was a wreck. If Augustus from his throne could then have surveyed the world at a glance, he would have wondered indeed. Where was the Roman Empire? From the Caucasus and the Ural Mountains to the pillars of Hercules and the British Channel; from the Desert of Sahara to the Baltic and the North Sea, heaved and rolled one vast ocean of

barbarian tribes, swept by raging tempests of revolution and war. The Roman Empire, once "strong as iron which breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things," was now itself broken. The great metropolis to which, for so many centuries,

> "The kingdoms and the nations came
> In supplicating crowds to learn their doom";

from the golden mile-stone of which, along roads built for eternity, had marched, in all directions, her mighty squadrons; while her victorious generals returned with trains of captive kings to celebrate their triumphs—now lay like a wrecked ship going to pieces on the rocks; the heavy billows of savage war, the hosts of Alaric, Radagaisus, Genseric, Attila, Ricimer, Odoaker, Theodoric, Totila, one after the other, breaking over her. What would Josephus, what would Paul have said had they witnessed that spectacle? A fragment called the Byzantine Empire was still visible above the deep, but slowly sinking under the pressure of events. By far the greater part of it—the Asiatic provinces—were shortly afterward torn away by another flood, the rushing armies of Mohammed, beneath which, at a later date, the whole was hopelessly submerged. This is an impressive picture. Where have the evanescence and nothingness of human Empires been more strikingly represented? The beautiful provinces of Rome, with their mountains, fields, valleys, rivers, forests; where her Cæsars and Augusti, her generals and consuls had so proudly ruled, were now wrested from her. The massive monuments of her power, her impregnable fortresses, her vast amphitheaters, her sumptuous palaces, her graceful temples, her superb roads, her grandeur, her glory—all were lost beneath one universal flood. On the African coast of the Mediterranean rose the Vandal kingdom of the German pirate Genseric, who had burned her fleets and

plundered her capital; in the provinces of Spain lay the kingdom of the Suevi, and the powerful kingdom of the West Goths. A great portion of the West of Europe was occupied by the kingdom of the Franks (the Holy Roman-German Empire in embryo). In Central and Eastern Europe were established the kingdom of Burgundy (about where now lies Switzerland), the kingdoms of the Alemanni, of the Rugii, of the Thuringii, of the heathen Saxons, of the Longobards, of the Gepidæ, the Boiards (Bavarians), etc. Italy, having passed beneath the scepter of the German Odoaker, was now ruled by Theodoric the Great, king of the East Goths. The vast Empire of the Huns, once towering over half Europe; which had boasted that when its king struck the ground with his sword, Rome and Constantinople trembled, now, also wrecked and dashed to pieces, had gone down in the whirlpool. Nothing of it was to be seen except a few broken spars and fragments tossed by the waves. A crowd of fugitive Huns had been borne back to the north-east coast of the Black Sea, the steppes of the Caspian, and the pasture-grounds of the Volga. Into the region of the Danube, which had been vacated by the East Goths, had flowed a number of Slavonian, Wend, and other tribes (among them a Tartar horde called the Avars, subsequently execrated for their robber raids). Six hundred years had scarcely passed since the rout of the Cimbrians by Marius, and now the greater portion of the Empire was in the possession of Germans. The East Goths, whom, two hundred years before, the Huns had found in Scythia, by the Ural Mountains, were now occupying Italy; and the West Goths, retreating before Attila, had moved from the Danube to the banks of the Ebro. Nor were these the only changes. Nearly all the European populations had been swept by the warlike pressure of other tribes, from their old homes into new settlements. Most of the kingdoms conspicuous at the period we have been

describing, were destined also to be soon borne away. Some had already fallen (the Guadi, the Marcomanni, etc.), never to rise again. The East Goths, the Vandals, the Gepidæ, etc., soon also disappeared forever as distinct monarchies. The strongest of all, the kingdom of the West Goths in Spain and Gaul, sunk at a somewhat later period; while, from the turbulent flood, other and newer kingdoms, among them the great first German Empire, were slowly rising; even as, in the beginning, continents and islands emerged from the waters. Sismondi says: "This period was marked by the most important, the most universal, and the longest convulsion to which the human race has ever been exposed."

The Arian Wars.

We might think it impossible to increase this state of anarchy; and yet a new, potent element was added thereto. In the midst of the general destruction, the Christian Church had continued to organize and strengthen itself, floating like the ark upon the waters, and offering to all mankind a place of refuge. But even within this ark, a war had broken out; a war within the other wars. Thus, while Attila and his Huns were fighting against Aetius and Theodoric; while the Franks, the Alemanni, the Burgundians, the Roman soldiers, the Barbarians were cutting each other's throats for conquest and plunder, the followers of Christ, by admitting false doctrines, kindled the Arian wars which gradually assumed large proportions, lasted centuries, and were disgraced on both sides by cruelties and persecutions. Nearly all the German kingdoms raised upon the ruins of the Roman Empire were Arian—that is, they adopted the creed of Bishop Arius, rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity. The Vandals, the Suevi, the West Goths, the East Goths, the Burgundians, had adopted Christianity in that form; and had thus to confront the resolute opposition and unquenchable hate of the Roman Church. The Franks

remained heathen until, as we shall presently see, they adopted Christianity in the Trinitarian form (496), and thus became allies of the Roman Church, enemies and conquerors of the Arian kingdoms, and inheritors of the Empire of the Cæsars.

The Saxons, in spite of all efforts to convert them, obstinately adhered to their heathen faith and customs, till Charlemagne forced Christianity upon them by the ax and sword. The Alemanni were at that time also heathen.

Supremacy of the Roman Church.

Constantine the Great had bestowed upon the Christian Church large wealth and privileges, and even some rights belonging to the state. His object was to strengthen it, that it might successfully defend itself against its enemies. While Arianism prevailed in the Eastern Empire, the Roman bishops sought, from the beginning, to suppress by the sword that heresy in the West. Theodosius the Great, a stern and determined supporter of Trinitarianism, by his victories and position as sole Emperor, had found himself sufficiently strong to force from the Eastern Arian bishops a recognition of *the permanent supremacy of the bishops of Rome.* Trinitarianism was thus the corner-stone on which the Roman Church was built. It had been laid by Constantine and Theodosius. The Western bishops had established it by the armies of the Franks. Thus, disobeying the command of her master, the Roman Church took the sword into her own hand and never again sheathed it. The destruction of the Arian kingdoms was her fixed idea, and she did not rest till she had accomplished her object. We now briefly glance at the fate of those Arian kingdoms.

Vandal kingdom destroyed, 534 A. D.

Justinian I., Byzantine Emperor, had sent Belisarius against the Vandals. That people, enervated by the climate of southern Italy, were sunk in Roman voluptuousness and bes-

tiality. Belisarius had little trouble in conquering this once formidable nest of pirates, and in sweeping them as a nation from the face of the earth.

Theodoric's kingdom of the East Goths in Italy, 493-553.

The East Goths, it will be remembered, after their rout by Attila (375), had settled on the Danube, in the north-western part of that region called, in our day, Turkey in Europe. They became allies of the Eastern Empire, and received an annual tribute from the Emperor for defending the Byzantine frontier. Theodoric, their king, educated in the Eastern capital, a noble character, an ambitious soldier, beloved by his people, excited the jealousy of Zeno I., who encouraged him to transfer his kingdom to Italy. Zeno hoped thus not only to rid himself of Theodoric, but through him to reduce Italy to a Byzantine province. Theodoric followed his advice, marched with his whole people, 200,000 strong, into Italy, slew Odoaker (493), and established the celebrated kingdom of the East Goths. Although the Byzantine court (Zeno I. and his successor, Anastasius I.) considered him only a vice-king, Theodoric, like Odoaker, exercised unlimited royal power. He governed with magnanimity and wisdom, but his Arian government was not able to resist the intrigues of the Roman Bishops. The Arian dispute kept his country in continual agitation. Not only a strong party of his own people had been won over to Trinitarianism and conspired against his authority, but they were instigated by the Popes and the Byzantine Emperor to frequent formidable insurrections. To suppress these, Theodoric was driven to cruelties foreign to his nature, which rendered him unpopular with his subjects, filled his own breast with remorse, and at last broke his heart. He learned too late the danger of a conflict with the Roman Church. At last, he threw Pope John into prison and appointed another, Felix, in his place; but the Roman Bishops and

clergy refused to acknowledge Felix. Theodoric died (526). His kingdom lasted till 556, a period of about sixty-three years, when the Byzantine Emperor, Justinian I., sent his general, Belisarius, who, after annihilating the Empire of the Vandals in Africa, destroyed the kingdom of the East Goths in Italy.* During the struggle, the city of Rome, which the Goths had lost, was again besieged and temporarily taken by Totila, the last Gothic king but one. This part of the story—the inextinguishable courage of the East Goths, the storming of the city of Rome by Totila, his clemency, valor, and heroic death, the intrepid persistence with which, when all was lost, the Goths elected another king, Tejas, the glorious death of Tejas in battle, the fate of Belisarius, the generosity of his successor, Narses, the frightful barbarity displayed on both sides, the grand examples of magnanimity and mercy by which it was relieved, and the final destruction and disappearance of those brave East Goths from the roll of nations—forms as romantic a chapter of history as the episode of Leonidas and his Spartans at Thermopylæ.

The Exarchate.

By the extinction of the East Gothic kingdom, Italy had become a province of the Byzantine Empire. The Emperors appointed a series of Governors called Exarchs, who ruled as vice-kings for about two hundred years (553–752), with Ravenna as their capital. Their dominion extended only over a part of Italy. It was weakened by an irruption (574) of the Lombards, under their king Alboin, who seized the northern part of Italy and there founded a kingdom. This part of the story will be more particularly related in another section.

* *East Goths in Italy.* After the extinction of the Western Empire by Odoaker (476), the reader may be reminded, Italy passed through three distinct periods: the first period was that of Odoaker, the second period was that of the East Goths, and the third period was that of the Exarchate and the Lombards.

After a short contest with the Roman Church, the Suevi consented to adopt the Catholic faith. These people have also disappeared as a nation; but their name is preserved in the name of Suabia. The fate of the Burgundians and of the Lombards will be presently related in their connection with the wonderful development of the Frankish kingdom.

Kingdom of the Suevi.

Rome had now seen the ruin of all her Arian enemies except the West Goths in Spain. A civil war between the Arian and Roman Catholic parties had desolated that country. The Arian king, Leovigild, bravely carried on the war against the Trinitarian party; but religious dissensions broke out in his own family. His son secretly joined the Roman party, fought sword in hand against his father, was taken prisoner and executed. After King Leovigild's death, however, his other son and successor, Recared, abandoned the Arian creed, and, at a Synod in Toledo, formally joined the Roman Catholic faith in his own name and that of his subjects. Thus, Arianism in the West had been destroyed. The Gothic language disappeared and was replaced by the Latin. Goths and Romans now blended together, and from the union sprang the present Spanish nation and language. In the disappearance of the Suevi, the Vandals, the East and West Goths, etc., from history, we remark the contrast offered by the Jews. Their kingdom also was extinguished, but the Jews have not disappeared from the world. After the adoption of the Trinitarian creed, the West Gothic kingdom maintained itself till overthrown by the Saracens, or Moors (710–711).

Kingdom of the West Goths.

Among the features of these eight centuries were extraordinary disturbances of nature, equaling in magnitude the political agitations; and which, by forcing upon thoughtful persons a sense

Natural convulsions.

of the evanescence of life, strengthened the Church, and aided in producing her union with the German Empire. We refer to a few of these on Gibbon's authority.

Pompeii and Herculaneum destroyed.

Just after the destruction of Jerusalem, the two cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum were buried beneath the ashes and lava of an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, and remained buried, their very site unknown, during a period of seventeen centuries. In a comparatively short period, there occurred no less than seven earthquakes of extraordinary violence. In one of these, two hundred and fifty thousand persons perished. During the reign of Valens (365), just as the Huns were breaking into Europe, another terrible earthquake shook the entire Roman Empire. The water of the Mediterranean was cast from its bed. An irresistible deluge ravaged the coasts of Sicily, Dalmatia, Greece, and Egypt. Large boats were carried two miles from the shore and lodged in the top branches of trees. Entire houses were swept away with their occupants. In the city of Alexandria, fifty thousand persons perished. Gibbon closes his account of these phenomena with the following remarks: "Without assigning the cause, history will observe that this fever of the earth raged with uncommon violence during the reign of Justinian. For a time, every year was marked by an earthquake. The shock of one of these was believed to extend over the whole surface of the globe. Enormous chasms opened in the earth. Huge heavy bodies were discharged into the air."

Pestilence.

About the same time, a pestilence attacked all the populations dwelling within the limits of the Roman Empire. It raged fifty-two years, uninterrupted by the changes of seasons. In Constantinople, for a short time, the deaths were ten thousand a day. The dead bodies were left unburied in the streets. Many cities were quite depopulated. In some

districts, the ungathered harvest and vintage withered on the ground. It is not possible to ascertain how many victims perished, probably about one hundred millions in Europe, Asia, and Africa. These earthquakes and pestilences were often followed by famine. "The reign of Justinian was marked by a visible decrease of the human species in some of the fairest countries of the world, and this loss has never been fully repaired."*

Mohammedanism.

In the wake of these awful calamities came others still more awful. The tempest launched by Attila had not fully subsided when Mohammed appeared (570). Under his banner, hordes of Arabians and Turks took possession of the North African coast and South-western Europe, and brought upon the world a danger greater in extent, more durable and more diabolical in character, than all the savage raids of Attila. The Christian Church was beginning to prove false to its mission, and Mohammedanism confronted it as a rival. The Saracens were in many respects a noble people, and after adopting Mohammedanism, the Turks and the Saracens blended together for the conquest of the world. They were not idolaters. They were not atheists. They believed in God and in a future life. Among them were intrepid soldiers, righteous generals, and virtuous caliphs, whom some so-called Christians, sovereigns, and warriors in that and subsequent ages, might have imitated with advantage; but the religion of the crescent is an exact antithesis to that of the cross,—a filthy caricature. Christ declared His kingdom "not of this earth." Mohammed pointed to this earth as his kingdom. Christ proclaimed: "He who takes the sword shall perish by the sword." Mohammed inscribed upon his banner: "Koran, tribute, or sword!" Christianity was a religion of purity, self-sacrifice, peace; Mohammedanism, of pride, impurity, voluptuousness, and

* Gibbon.

war. Christ was sinless, meek, holy; Mohammed, licentious, revengeful, distinguished by cunning and by a sensuality passing all limits (which he excused on the blasphemous plea that he had received special permission for his carnal pleasures from God in a personal revelation).

Mohammedanism almost immediately began its attempts to conquer the world. It made no delay in taking possession of Arabia and the neighboring countries. Its victories were unparalleled. It cut its way through Persia, Syria, a large part of the East of Asia, and all North Africa. It took possession of Spain, where it destroyed the kingdom of the West Goths (700), and held that country seven hundred years. The Saracen general, Musa, boasted that he would (from Spain) cross the Pyrenees and Alps and proclaim Mohammedanism from the Vatican. The Mohammedans, in immense numbers, crossed the Pyrenees into Gaul, and were proceeding to impose the religion of the Crescent upon that part of Europe, when the inhabitants of Aquitania, a small Gaulish kingdom, called the Franks to their assistance.

Charles Martel.

Charles Martel, chief, and, in some degree, king of the Franks, met the great Mohammedan forces near Tours (732), and routed them after a long and murderous battle. They retreated in disorder over the Pyrenees. Europe was saved from the Moslem yoke, and Charles received the name of Martel (Hammer) from the energetic blow he had dealt the invader.

Although the progress of Mohammedanism was thus arrested in that part of Europe, it has been a judgment upon the world, even to our day. Out of it grew the Crusades, which cost millions of lives; and, in our present time, the Oriental question threatens Europe with new wars.

Haroun-al-Raschid (*i. e.*, the Just), caliph of Arabia, one of the most powerful of the Saracen conquerors, and hero of the *Thousand and One Arabian Nights*, was a contemporary and friend of Charlemagne. His empire extended from Africa to India. His capital was Bagdad, the brilliant center of Arabian science and glory. This region was then the garden of the world. War, despotism, and other sins of man have since converted it into a desert. Be it here said, in passing, that in 1401, Bagdad was besieged by Timur the Tartar, the town stormed, and almost entirely destroyed, the inhabitants massacred, and ninety thousand human heads piled up in a pyramid.

Haroun-al-Raschid, 786-809.

Haroun was a grand type of an Oriental conqueror, large-minded, noble-hearted, terrible in vengeance, grand in friendship. Nicephorus, Byzantine Emperor, once not only refused to pay him tribute, but demanded that Haroun should refund the tribute already paid. The answer was as follows: "*In the name of the most merciful God, Haroun-al-Raschid, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. Thy letter, thou son of an unbelieving mother, I have read. Thou shalt not hear; thou shalt see my reply.*" His reply was the sending of three hundred thousand soldiers. Forty thousand subjects of Nicephorus were slain in battle. Nicephorus himself was wounded three times, and a humiliating treaty imposed upon him by which the Greek Emperor consented not only to pay tribute, but to have it paid in coin bearing Haroun's image and motto. This may give some idea of the power of the Saracen Empire, and of the degradation to which the great Roman-Greek Empire of Constantine was reduced. Its sovereigns were distinguished by weakness against foreign enemies, and murderous crimes committed in their families. The Empire was insulted and trampled upon with impunity by the Bul-

garians and Avars, and the Saracens had little difficulty in wresting from it all the Asiatic possessions.

It would seem impossible to add to the anarchy and affliction of Europe, and yet another calamity was impending.

The Normans, 787.

The Normans, or Northmen, sea-robbers from Scandinavia, particularly from Norway, now commenced, and for two hundred years, carried on their piratical conquests on the European coasts. They were the Alarics and Attilas of the ocean. We devote a few words to them in advance of our narrative. In 866, they were, so to speak, converted to Christianity; but continued to plunder, burn, and murder as before. In 912, they seized Normandy; and in 1066, conquered England (William the Conqueror). They penetrated into the Empire of Charlemagne, established themselves in Brittany, entered the Mediterranean, and became masters of Naples and Sicily. About the year 1000, more than three hundred years before Columbus was born, they discovered Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; entered the St. Lawrence River, which they found rich in salmon; ascended that river till they came to a lake, and probably their feet trod the soil of our present New England and New York.*

Kingdom of Charlemagne.

Such, then, was the state of Europe during the first eight centuries; a chaos of immense political revolutions, uninterrupted wars, giant characters, colossal crimes, and prodigious disturbances of nature,—one of which appeared to shake the globe. Out of these stormy waves rose the seventh great Universal Monarchy, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation; the Empire of Charlemagne, son of Pepin the Short, and grandson of Charles Martel, King of the Franks, whose valiant arm had saved Europe. This Empire appeared intrusted with a new mission,—to bring

* Karl Ritter's lectures.

order out of chaos, light out of darkness; to build up a higher civilization on the wrecks of the past six kingdoms, and to bestow Christianity upon Europe and the world. Its connection with the Franks and the Lombards makes it necessary to glance back a few moments at those two kingdoms.

Kingdom of the Franks.

About the time of Theodosius the Great (395), the powerful German heathen tribe, or rather confederation of tribes, called the Franks, had established themselves on the lower Rhine, elected kings, and acquired written laws. Their third king was Merovæus (Merovig), from whom the word Merovingian.

Merovingian line of Frankish kings.

Merovæus was the first important Frankish king of the Merovingian dynasty. He fought with Aetius and Theodoric in their great battle against Attila (451). He was succeeded by Childebert, who was followed by Clovis the Great.

Clovis (Clodewig) the Great, 481-511.

This king, and all his subjects and all the neighboring German tribes, were heathens. Clovis immediately began a career of conquest. His next neighbor on the south-west was Syagrius, the last representative of Roman power in Gaul, who ruled partly as a Roman governor over a considerable territory on the Seine and the Loire, extending to the British Channel and the Bay of Biscay. Clovis invaded this kingdom, defeated Syagrius (battle of Soissons), and annexed his territory. Syagrius fled to Toulouse, the capital of the West Goths. The West Gothic king meanly surrendered the fugitive, whom Clovis caused to be beheaded. The victorious Frank now raised Paris to the dignity of his capital. He next attacked his neighbors on the south-east, the Alemanni, and was here on the point of being beaten, when, seeing himself deserted by his pagan gods, and influenced by his Roman Catholic

Syagrius.

wife, Clothilde, he prayed for assistance to the God of the Christians, or as some historians express it, to the God of Clothilde, and vowed that in case of victory he would become a Christian. The battle was fought and won (496), (Zulpich, near Cologne). The Alemanni were so thoroughly defeated that they surrendered to Clovis the principal part of their territory, and never again fully recovered their independence. Clovis immediately caused himself to be baptized at Rheims,* and the greater part of his army followed his example, adopting not the Arian, but the Roman Catholic Trinitarian faith. An alliance now naturally took place between the Franks and the Roman Church. Both were seeking power, and they helped each other. Clovis undertook a war against the Arian Empire of the West Goths, in Spain and Gaul. He failed in the attempt to seize Spain, but he defeated the West Gothic army, slew the king, Alaric II. (Poitiers, 507), and seized nearly all the Gothic territory north of the Pyrenees, in Gaul. He then carried war into the Arian kingdom of Burgundy, his neighbor on the south. Burgundy was so far conquered (as elsewhere stated), that its territory, after the death of Clovis, was incorporated into the Frankish kingdom. Clovis had thus conquered nearly all the territory called France, and hurled a heavy blow at Arianism.

Lothaire II., 613-628.

Lothaire II. marked the commencement of a singular period in the Frankish history. From about this time, from whatever cause, the kings of the Merovingian line sank into helpless inactivity, and are known as *les rois fainéants* (the lazy or sluggard kings). Each king abandoned the royal

* The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop Saint Rénny. The oil used for anointing the king being brought down from heaven, tradition assures, in a vial carried by a dove for the purpose. The vial (Sancta Ampolla) was preserved in the cathedral at Rheims, and the oil used at the coronation of subsequent kings.—[Ed.

power to the chief officer of his household, called *Maire du Palais* (Mayor of the Palace). Thence arose a short line of powerful dukes with a hereditary right to that exalted rank. These dukes belonged to the family afterward immortalized by Charlemagne (Carlovingian line). Four of them followed in succession: the first, Pepin of Landen; the second, Pepin of Héristal (680–714), who caused the Merovingian king of the Franks, Dagobert, to be murdered. Great crimes were now committed in the Merovingian family. A civil war ensued between the Carlovingian major-domos and the party of the Merovingian kings. At the battle of Testri (687), Pepin of Héristal gained the victory, and overthrew the Merovingian dynasty. He thought it imprudent openly to ascend the throne with the title of king, but he concentrated the royal power in the hands of the major-domo.

Charles Martel, 714-741.

His son, Charles Martel, was the second member of the great Carlovingian family, wielding the whole royal power under the name of major-domo. He found open to him a sphere of action, perhaps greater than that which had brought immortality to Aetius and Theodoric. This was his conflict with Mohammedanism already related.

Pepin the Short.

Pepin the Short, son of Charles Martel, became major-domo on his father's death. The Frankish king was then Childeric III. The time had now come for the major-domos to throw off the mask. With the consent of the Roman Pope, Pepin caused Childeric to be confined in a cloister, and was then himself crowned king by St. Boniface, at Soissons (752).* He was warlike and powerful, and the first king of the Carlovingian line.

We now come to a very important epoch in the history of the world, the foundation of two mighty king-

* St. Bonifacius, the apostle of the Germans, murdered while preaching the Gospel.

doms strangely blended into one: the Roman Papacy and the Roman-German Empire. But to make clearer the union between the Empire and the Papal Church, we must cast a brief retrospective glance upon the Lombards.

Foundation of the Papacy, and of the German Empire.

The Lombards first appeared on the lower Elbe (Holstein, Hanover, Luneburg, Mecklenburg). In the fourth century they moved down to the Danube, and there, for the most part, adopted Arian Christianity. Toward the close of the sixth century, under Alboin, their king, they invaded Italy, and founded a new kingdom on the territory now called Lombardy (570). Thus with them Arianism came again into Italy, and their kingdom lasted about two hundred years. In the beginning of the seventh century Pope Gregory the Great succeeded in converting the Lombard kings to the Roman Catholic faith. The kingdom reached its height under King Liutprand (713). The Popes, who themselves had begun to aim at political, as well as ecclesiastical sovereignty, beheld with alarm, the increasing ascendency of the Lombard kings, and opposed it by all the means in their power. Italy was thus at the same time under the dominion of three governments struggling with each other for supremacy, the Popes, the Exarchs, and the Lombard kings. During two centuries these eighteen Exarchs made themselves execrable by their tyranny. The consequence was, fierce insurrections suppressed by merciless cruelty. In one of these the people murdered the Exarch and all his court. One Exarch rebelled against the Byzantine Empire, proclaimed himself Emperor of the West, and marched toward Rome to be crowned by the Pope; but on the way he was murdered by his soldiers. One of his successors plundered the pontifical treasury. Another seized a Pope and sent him prisoner to Constantinople. Italy was thus in a deplorable state,

The Lombards (Longobards).

Extinction of the Exarchate, 752.

oppressed by extortions, executions, and wars between the Exarchate and the Lombard kings. The Lombards at last obtained important victories. King Astolphus (752) seized the capital of the Exarchate, Ravenna. Eutychius, the Exarch, fled. The Lombards then took formal possession of the whole Exarchate, prepared to march upon Rome and subject the entire peninsula. In this extremity, Pope Stephen II. called for aid upon Pepin the Short, king of the Franks, who came at the call, defeated Astolphus, tore their prey from the grasp of the Lombards, seized the whole territory of the Exarchate, including the strongly fortified capital, Ravenna, and presented this costly,—this invaluable gift to the Holy See. Thus the Exarchate conquered, two hundred years before, from the East Goths by Belisarius and Narses, came to a violent end. Its destruction was a very important fact in the history of mankind. "Coming events cast their shadows before"; and here we perceive the advancing shadows of the great German Empire, and of that mighty Papacy, which, during so many subsequent centuries, towered so high and held the world captive beneath its feet. Thus the hated Eastern Empire was driven out of Italy by the Franks; thus the German element flowed into the Roman; thus the Franks bestowed upon the Roman Church a great favor, the extent of which they little knew, and which that Church in due time richly requited. The Lombard kingdom was not yet destroyed, but it was destined soon to follow the Exarchate. Astolphus had one successor, Desiderius (756–774). During his reign Stephen III. was Pope. These two potentates of course came to a quarrel. Pepin the Short had now passed from the scene, and his son, Charles I. the Great, immortal in history as Charlemagne, had become king of the Franks, with his brother, Carloman, as co-regent. Carloman died in 770. Charlemagne was now sole monarch of the broad and powerful Frankish

kingdom. In him was concentrated all the long-divided strength of the German tribes, and to this strength was soon to be added all the power of the Roman Empire. There had been three hundred years of constant fighting, and in this long struggle for existence the strongest had survived. Charles had repudiated his wife, a daughter of Desiderius. He had, moreover, excluded from the throne the sons of his deceased brother, Carloman. The repudiated wife and the disinherited sons took refuge at the court of King Desiderius, who, not fully comprehending the power of Charlemagne, declared war against Pope Adrian I. in order to compel the Holy Father, if not to depose Charlemagne, at least to award to Carloman's sons their legal right to the Frankish throne. This promptly brought Charlemagne himself over the Alps into Italy.

But here we pause. As a lesser stream, having pursued its way from a remote mountain source, at last joins the main river; so our introduction, after meandering perhaps too long among the ancient valleys, now flows into the general history of the Three Germanys.*

* Here rises the question: Shall the word "Germanys" be spelled "Germanies"? The rule seems to require it, but Webster, in his introductory article, entitled "Orthography," says: "Many writers form the plural by only adding an s," in such phrases as "the three Marys." Unless there be some clear reason to the contrary, I wish in the present case to follow the example of these writers. The name of a great empire ought not to be mutilated. Hermann, St. Bonifacius, Barbarossa, and Bismarck would all unite against the grammarian and cry "Hands off!"

THE THREE GERMANYS.

THE THREE GERMANYS.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

CHARLEMAGNE 768–814 A.D.—CARLOVINGIAN LINE.

CHARLEMAGNE was born at Aix-la-Chapelle, April 2, 742, just ten years after the victory of his grandfather, Charles Martel, over the Saracens. He became king of the Franks at the age of twenty-six, and, as we have seen, by unjustly excluding his two nephews from the throne, gathered the reins of government into his own hands as sole king. The kingdom of the Franks and the Roman Church had now the world pretty much to themselves. Mohammedanism in Europe had for the time received its death-blow. The Exarchate had been suppressed, and the Arian kingdoms destroyed. Germany and Rome now stood together as allies bound by one common religious faith. They joined hands with the avowed purpose of converting and governing the world.

King of the Franks, 768.

The kingdom of Charlemagne consisted of half-barbarous tribes and warrior chieftains. All the neighboring nations were his enemies. On the south-west, in Spain, there was the Caliphate of Cordova, Saracens,

whose hatred of the Christians had not been softened by the defeat of Poitiers. The Italian kingdom of the Lombards on the south, and the Saxons on the north, beheld with jealousy the rising greatness of the Franks. Beyond the Saxons was Denmark. On the north-east and east frontiers were the Vends, with other Slavonian tribes. Besides these, the Bohemians, Hungarians, and Avars menaced the Empire with a new Barbarian invasion.

The Saxons.

Charlemagne's first conflict was with the Saxons, who, as we have said, clung to their old heathen worship, and reposed entire confidence in their idol representing the German battle-god *Irmin*. Charlemagne marched against them, conquered them, knocked their battle-god to shivers, forced them to take the oath of allegiance, and returned to embark upon a more important enterprise.

Kingdom of Lombardy, 774.

Desiderius, king of the Lombards, had, as we have seen, received at his court the two disinherited sons of Carloman, and threatened to besiege Rome unless Pope Hadrian should crown them kings. Hadrian called upon Charlemagne for help. Desiderius haughtily persisted in his terms for peace. But Charlemagne marched an army into Italy, over the great St. Bernard and Mount-Cenis. Desiderius was astounded on beholding, from a tower near Pavia, the arrival of this irresistible force, and in its midst Charlemagne himself, glittering in iron armor, mounted on a fiery charger of unusual strength and proportions. At this sight, Desiderius cried out: "*Let us go down and hide ourselves in the earth from the angry countenance of this mighty enemy!*" He descended from his tower and gave battle at Pavia. Help had been solicited from the Byzantine Empire, but did not come. Desiderius

was completely routed; after a brave defense, he was taken prisoner, and subsequently died in prison. He was the last king of Lombardy. Charlemagne incorporated the kingdom into his empire, placed, with his own hand, the iron crown of the Lombards upon his head, and henceforth took the title of "*King of the Franks and Lombards.*" The Pope bestowed upon him the additional title of Protector of the Roman Church.*

Charlemagne's first visit to Rome.

On visiting Rome after this conquest, Charlemagne was received with extraordinary honors. Thirty miles from the city crowds came forth to meet him. As he advanced nearer the gates, he found the whole city assembled in the streets. It was on Easter Sunday. The young Romans were in arms, ranged in military order. Children and maidens bore palm and olive branches, and strewed them beneath his horse's feet. Magistrates addressed words of reverence and gratitude to their liberator, and from thousands of voices rose far and wide the choral: "*Hosanna; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Blessed be the kingdom of our father David that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest!*" Thus Charlemagne entered Rome, as Jesus entered Jerusalem. The German Empire was greeted as if it had been the kingdom of God; though not "lowly and riding upon an ass," but proudly, with ax and sword and mounted on a war-charger. At the portico of the Vatican, the Pope received his guest, and having embraced, the two walked on together, Charlemagne, however, taking the place of honor at Hadrian's right

* The lover of history and of genuine poetry will here read again with pleasure Longfellow's magnificent poem on Charlemagne, called "The Poet's Tale." (See Appendix.)

hand. Charlemagne then visited the Church of St. Peter, supposed to be built upon the very spot where the apostle was crucified. As he ascended the steps leading into the building, he bent down and touched each step with his lips. He manifested the liveliest interest in the Eternal City, its monuments, edifices, and other remains of grandeur which had survived the ravages of time and war, and witnessed the passage of so many of his countrymen, first as slaves, then as masters and destroyers. On this visit Charlemagne confirmed to the Papacy the important gift of the Exarchate of Ravenna, made by his father, and even augmented it by considerable additions. He did this, not in order to make the Pope an independent temporal sovereign, but as investing him with such power as a monarch might bestow upon one of his vassals.

The iron crown.

The iron crown, in reality composed of gold and ornamented with precious stones, received its name from an iron ring encircling the inside, and said to be made out of one of the nails of the Sacred Cross. This is the crown which, a thousand years afterward, as the Empire of Charlemagne tottered on its base, Napoleon I., in imitation of that hero, placed upon his head with his own hands, hoping to found another Empire greater than that of Charlemagne. The Empire of Charlemagne, however, lasted ten centuries; that of Napoleon, ten years.

War against the Saracens.

The Saxons rose again and again in insurrection, and were at last, Charlemagne supposed, completely conquered. Believing his Empire solidly established, he now convoked a great Diet (Reichstag) at Paderborn, Westphalia. There he was gratified by the arrival of a magnificent embassy

from the Saracens of Spain. The Governor of Saragossa had been banished by the Caliph of Cordova, and came with his suite to solicit the protection of the mighty king of the Franks. Charlemagne led an army over the Pyrenees, conquered Spain as far as the Ebro, stormed Saragossa, re-instated the Governor, took from him the oath of fealty, and annexed the conquered Spanish territory to his Frankish kingdom. On his way back, a part of his forces were massacred at Roncesvalles, in the wild passes of the Pyrenees. The news reached Germany in an exaggerated form. The Frankish army, it was said, was destroyed, and Charlemagne among the slain. The Saxons now rose once more under their king, Wittikind, invaded the kingdom of the Franks, plundering, murdering, and burning every thing in their way. Charlemagne, on his return, suppressed the insurrection; but very soon (782), the Saxons rose again for the fifth time. Charlemagne sent against them a strong division of his army with messages of peace. The messengers were murdered. The army was cut to pieces. The king's great patience was now exhausted, and the old barbarian was aroused in his breast. A new Frankish army met and defeated the Saxons. The prisoners, 4,500 in number, were (785) beheaded in one single day. This rigorous treatment caused a sixth Saxon insurrection, under Wittikind. The entire people rose in arms. They were again defeated; but the war lasted till 808, when Saxony was incorporated into the Empire, and its king and people baptized.

The subjection of the Saxons, and the execution of the 4,500, were not the result alone of personal ambition or vengeance, but were part of a great hierarchical plan. Rome carried on an implacable war against heresy to

establish the unity of the Church; and Charlemagne, as protector of the Church, aimed also at the extirpation of paganism and the forcible amalgamation of every tribe, not only into the German Empire, but into the Christian Church. The unity of Church and Empire, with a German sovereign at the head; such was the idea of the Holy Roman Empire. In this, as in other things, the Church departed from the letter and spirit of its master. It began to taste the cup of temporal power.

Thassillo, 788.

Thassillo, Duke of Bavaria, was one of the refractory nobles who waged a great war against his master. Like Charlemagne, he was a son-in-law of Desiderius. Having secured an alliance with the Avars, and encouraged by the Byzantine court, he formed the plan to replace Desiderius upon the throne of Lombardy. Three armies, one of which Charlemagne commanded in person, were necessary to reduce this ambitious subject. He was deposed and condemned to death. But Charlemagne commuted the sentence into imprisonment for life in a cloister.

The Avars.

Thassillo had called to his assistance the Avar hordes; on they came, but too late to save him. Charlemagne made seven campaigns against this tribe of bandits, finally destroyed them, took possession of their territory, and thus moved his Eastern frontier far toward the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. In these wars, Charles showed himself valiant and strong, wise and prudent, but at times merciless and tyrannical.

On the death of Hadrian, his successor, Leo III., sent to the Frankish court an embassy announcing the event. The envoy was instructed to present the king of the

Franks with the banner of the city of Rome and the key to the grave of the Apostle Peter, with the request that Charlemagne would accept from the Roman people an oath of allegiance. In response, Charlemagne sent an envoy, who received from the Pope the recognition of Charlemagne's jurisdiction over Rome.

Rome kneels before Charlemagne, 795.

From this time Charlemagne was in fact the sovereign of the Romans and the master of the Papacy. Roman money was coined in his name, and in his name justice was administered. The election of a Pope was not legal without his consent.

Pope Leo III. was the hundredth Pope, counting from the Apostle Peter. In 799 a conspiracy broke out against him. He was seized in the street during a procession, beaten, and scarcely escaped with his life. Charlemagne was with his army at Paderborn. Leo fled to him for aid. On the appearance of the Holy Father, the army fell down on their knees; Charlemagne embraced Leo and promised to re-instate him. The indignant warriors, beating their shields and waving their swords in the air, uttered shouts of vengeance and loud vows to replace Leo upon his throne. Amid this uproar of voices and clang of swords and shields, broke forth the chant of the priests, the *Gloria in Excelsis* (glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, etc.). Leo was immediately sent back to Rome with a sufficient force to protect him; Charlemagne soon followed at the head of his army. On Christmas-day (in the eight hundredth year of the Christian Era), he attended public worship in the Church of St. Peter. The mass was concluded, and Charlemagne was still kneeling in prayer, when Leo stepped forward,

Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans, 800.

placed upon his head an imperial crown of gold, touched with one hand the mouth, with the other the hand of Charlemagne, anointed him, prostrated himself before him, and saluted him as Emperor of the Romans. The multitude lifted their voices in a loud shout: "*Carolo Augusto, crowned by God, the mighty peace-loving Emperor of the Romans! Long life and victory!*" Three times the shout resounded under the sacred dome.

This coronation was another very important event in human history. It was not an arbitrary, local, unexpected act of Pope Leo. The spectators were not surprised. They had been brought together for the purpose of elevating Charlemagne, by a solemn ceremony, to the highest position among the inhabitants of the earth. The building was crowded with all that could aspire to represent Papal Rome, Germany, Christianity, and the old Empire of Augustus; high ecclesiastical dignitaries; the Frankish Senate, the greatest of the Roman nobles, and the most influential among the Roman people. It was considered the legal act of the Christian world; made necessary by the condition of Europe; the result not only of imperative events, but of long and careful consideration, and probably of negotiations. It was a resuscitation of the extinct Western Roman Empire. From that day Charlemagne took his seat among the antique Roman Imperators. By this means the fallen Western Empire and the Roman Popes hoped to escape the insupportable domination of the Greek Emperors, and to give unity and peace to Italy and the Church. "Down with the Lombard kingdom! Down with the Exarchate!" and, although not uttered aloud, the thought was in men's minds, "Down with the Byzantine Empire!" That Empire was then ruled by the Empress Irene, whom Charlemagne in-

tended to marry; thus to re-unite the Western and Eastern thrones and, like Constantine and Theodosius, to become sole master of the old Roman Empire. (The plan was defeated by the death of Irene.)

This coronation did not bring to Charlemagne any increase of territory, but it elevated him to a higher position than any other mortal had ever attained. Its real meaning was to place in his hand the sovereignty of the world. He now assumed the title of Emperor of the West, and his greatness continued to increase up to the time of his death.

After repressing several other Saxon insurrections, he finally succeeded in reducing that turbulent tribe to perfect obedience. He little thought that a single century would bring a Saxon line to the German throne, with sovereigns almost as great as himself. He did not foresee the height of power which the Saxon race was to attain in the subsequent history of Germany, what renowned dukes and electors were to appear on the stage, the historical and the noble part they were to play in the great drama of the Reformation.

Charlemagne conducted successful wars against the Danes, the Normans, the Vends, and other Slavic tribes, and made the Eider his northern frontier. His kingdom extended from the Eider on the north to Benevento on the south, the Byzantine Empire on the east and the Ebro on the west. It comprised the present France, Italy, Germany, Hungary, and the north-east part of Spain. Its shores were washed by the British Channel, the North and Baltic seas, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. In order to bring together all the German tribes under his scepter, he made thirty-three campaigns into the woods and morasses of Germany.

Kingdom of Charlemagne.

Haroun al Raschid sent an embassy from Bagdad to court the friendship of the great Frank. Among his splendid presents to Charlemagne, were a Saracen tent, an elephant, a water-clock, and, above all, the keys of Jerusalem and those of the Holy Sepulcher.

Embassy from Haroun al Raschid, 814.

Charlemagne had reached the age of seventy-two when, while hunting at Aix-la-Chapelle, he suddenly felt a pain in his side. It was followed by a fever which, after seven days, ended his life. In the moment of death, with a feeble hand, he made the sign of the cross on his forehead and heart. Then, folding his hands upon his breast and closing his eyes, he sang in a low voice: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Thus he joined the "innumerable caravan" and walked through the somber valley. His embalmed body was placed in a vault of the Marien Church at Aix-la-Chapelle amid the loud sobs and lamentations of the people. Here, seated on a golden throne; arrayed in full imperial splendor; upon his head the crown of the world; in one hand the communion cup; in the other the Reichsapfel (a small globe surmounted by a piece of the true cross, a symbol of his Christian government over the entire earth); at his side, the sword which had subjected Europe; a copy of the Gospels upon his knee; at his feet the scepter which had aspired to set up the permanent kingdom of Christ; his mortal image remained walled up in the dark vault for nearly 200 years. In order to erect a new church on the site of the old one, under Emperor Otto III. (989–1002—of the Saxon line then holding the throne), the vault was re-opened. The body of the great Emperor was found still seated, the crown upon his brow, the

Death of Charlemagne, 814.

globe in his hand, the scepter at his feet. But while the centuries had left the Emperor thus undisturbed on his dusty throne, all his descendants had been swept away and the scepters of Germany, Italy, and France were wielded by strangers. According to a legend, the vault was opened by Otto III. and a band of sacrilegious companions, after a drunken midnight revel; but a glance from the eyes of Charlemagne sobered the godless crew, and they hastened to close the vault again. Another account says, Otto repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle for the purpose of opening the tomb, that by a sight of the German Cæsar he might be better inspired to carry out his own *imperator* idea.

Thoughts on Charlemagne.

In what consisted the supereminent greatness of Charlemagne? We are apt to think of him as the original founder of the German Empire. He was not. Clovis, Charles Martel, Pepin: these were the men whose swords had hewn out the broad foundation of the German Empire. There were giants in those days as before the flood, and Charlemagne was one of them. Nevertheless, had he only distinguished himself by his military successes, he would not occupy so prominent a place in history. Part of his fame rests on his achievements as a statesman. These were, in fact, more remarkable than his military deeds. It was the soldier who for the first time brought all the separate German tribes into one national confederation, and held in captive submission beneath his scepter, at least during his life-time, the half-barbarian warriors who had never before known the weight of a yoke. But to keep these elements together; to accustom them to obedience; to civilize their manners and enlighten their minds; this was the work of a statesman. Space does

not permit us to analyze his course as a ruler; but he certainly showed himself one of the wisest legislators and most sagacious and honest sovereigns in history. While carrying on wars with various enemies and on all his frontiers; continually enlarging his territories, fortifying them with Marches, creating bishoprics, building fortresses, etc., he was bestowing upon his kingdom more peace, order, and light than the German people had ever known before. We are astonished to find so successful a conqueror, devoting himself so conscientiously to this peaceful task. The authors of the Constitution of the United States of America scarcely strove more earnestly to establish justice, insure tranquillity, promote public welfare, and secure to every individual such rights as obviously belong to all, and without which rational liberty in a nation and solid power in a government can not exist. Charlemagne was among the first who recognized the common people as fellow-men and the poor and helpless as brothers and sisters. He attempted to apportion justly the weight of taxation and military service. Assisted by the most learned men of his time, he introduced a general system of education, established schools in which children were gratuitously taught, encouraged music, etc. Probably he brought from Rome that taste for sacred music which has grown up into the beautiful chorals still heard to-day in German churches. He himself habitually attended public worship, and with a sweet and mellow voice sang hymns with the rest of the congregation. Not satisfied with establishing schools for others, he erected a kind of college at his own court, where learned persons gave instructions to Charlemagne himself, his sons, daughters, and friends, in rhetoric, astronomy, dialectics, languages, and other branches. He learned to speak the

Latin language correctly and fluently; and in his later years greatly improved his general knowledge. But penmanship was too much for him. The strong hand accustomed to wield the sword could not manage that other little instrument, mightier than even the sword; and though he inscribed his name legibly enough upon the page of history, yet in the old and beautifully written official documents still extant in the royal libraries of Germany and France, we find the signature in this fashion:

"*Signum* ✝ *Caroli gloriossissimi regis.*"

(Signature of Charles the most glorious king.) In plain English: Charles + his mark.

In this great prince two opposite characters are blended: Charlemagne, the warrior; the man of iron; mounted upon a horse of iron; with a heart of iron; Mohammedan, Lombard, Saxon, Avar, Norman, Dane flying before the flash of his invincible sword; the world almost worshiping him; Rome kneeling at his feet; and Charlemagne, the father of his people, the statesman, legislator, reformer, school-master, friend of the poor, defender of the oppressed, just judge, modest student, the good king seeking to secure the happiness, here and hereafter, of the lowest peasant in his realm, and singing with the common flock the hymns of the Church and the Psalms of David at the feet of Christ.

But all this does not explain the exalted position which history accords to Charlemagne. There have been conquerors who might have measured swords with him without rashness; and sovereigns who, in the administration of justice and mercy, have equaled him, and who in private life have been his superiors. It is true, one of his principal objects was the propagation of the Gospel.

He made great exertions to place clear copies of the Scriptures in the hands of his people.* But his private life was dissolute; he committed many acts of inhumanity besides the execution of the 4,500 Saxons previously mentioned; and we do not find in him the balanced mind which set the final seal of greatness upon Gustavus Adolphus, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, and last but not least, Washington. To what, then, are we to ascribe the exceptional splendor of his name? Not alone to what he accomplished; nor to what he was; but to what he was expected to accomplish; and to what he was supposed to be; to the remarkable epoch of history in which he appeared, and to the condition of mankind at that time. The first eight centuries had just closed, and with them the most appalling period of natural and political convulsions which had yet afflicted the earth. Sunk in darkness and sin, the world rather resembled a battle-field, a pirate-ship, or a mad-house than the habitation of rational beings. Six early monarchies had gone down walking in their own light. The empty religions and literature,—however graceful and elegant,—of Greece and Rome had not saved those nations from the fate of their predecessors. Experience had taught man the need of assistance from above; but the highest heathen philosophy had found no other refuge than despair; no better remedy than poison, the dagger, or a leap into the flood. Christianity had existed 800 years in the world. But they had been years of persecution, heresy, ridicule, and struggles with paganism, Mohammedanism, and the natural pride

* The copy of the Gospels which Charlemagne habitually used, and which it is believed remained 200 years upon his knee in the vault at Aix-la-Chapelle, may be seen to-day in the Schatzkammer at Vienna, perfectly preserved. The letters are almost entirely of gold, the titles in silver. It was upon this copy of the Gospels that the subsequent German Emperors took the oath of office.

and unbelief of the human heart. It is true, the revolution effected by Constantine transformed Christianity from a persecuted sect into a State Church. But Constantine himself did not act according to its precepts, and the Roman Empire had been too demoralized to comprehend, far less to carry out, the idea of the Christian Revelation. This was now to be accomplished (it was thought) by Charlemagne. The German Empire and the Church, united, assumed to be the sole source of light upon the earth. It would be a great mistake to overlook Christianity as the preponderating element during this and, in fact, all subsequent periods of history. The uprising of an omnipotent Christian Empire, in which Church and State were to act together, awakened the highest expectations. The kingdom of God was set up at last. The millennium had commenced. The voices of the heavenly host could almost be heard in the air: *On earth peace; good will toward men.* Charlemagne was hailed as a liberator, sent by Heaven, to set the suffering world right; and thousands welcomed him as he had been welcomed on his first visit to Rome: *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest!* He was indeed a kind of Apocalyptic vision, a stately type of that Christian Empire which during the ten subsequent centuries remained a principal figure on the stage of history. There was in his character and in his administration something which corresponded to these hopes. He was such a Messiah as the Jews looked for. They would gladly have accepted a warrior like him, had he proposed to march from Jerusalem upon Rome and to humble the City of the Cæsars. He was indeed noble and powerful, wise, victorious, grand and kingly; his head adorned with a halo brighter than that of Augustus or Trajan. In his

hand he held united the sword, the miter, the scepter, and the cross, the latter touched with a light from heaven. He appeared to the multitude as a glorious representative of both worlds; an Abraham in whose seed all the nations of the earth were to be blessed; a Moses raised up to lead mankind out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Emperor and Pope, united in one holy aim, the gospel in their hands, were to govern according to the spirit of Christ; and the stream of history was thenceforth to move onward gently and smoothly as the crystal waters of Siloam, which issue from a rock and flow softly on without a murmur. The sketch we are about to present will suggest that such a change on the earth can be effected only by a greater even than Charlemagne.

In person, Charlemagne was tall, with a noble countenance and commanding appearance. In his latter days he accepted as his right the pre-eminence accorded to him by his contemporaries. He withdrew from the public gaze; only a favored few were admitted to his presence. On important occasions he revealed himself in the full pomp of imperial grandeur. No one was permitted to approach without first prostrating himself to the earth, and touching with his lips the foot of the world's Lord. He was the highest impersonation of the old German idea of an Imperator (*the Kaiseridee*). A contemporary writer, describing the emotion called forth by his death, says: "It is not possible to imagine the grief of all the inhabitants of the earth. Even the heathen nations mourned him as the father of mankind."

His greatness appears particularly in the consequences of his death. When the master-hand was withdrawn, the Empire broke apart and Europe fell back into chaos.

During the thousand years of Charlemagne's empire, from his coronation (800) to Francis II. (1806), some fifty* princes successively sat upon the imperial throne. They were all *Kings* of Germany, but not actually *Emperors*, though habitually so called. These rulers may be grouped as belonging to six dynasties:

Carlovingian Line, 814-911.

I.—The Carlovingian.
II.—The Saxon.
III.—The Franconian.
IV.—The Hohenstaufen.

(In regular order of dates, Rudolph of Hapsburg comes next as founder of the Austrian dynasty, which did not, however, secure the throne until a century and a half later.)

V.—Emperors of different houses, Bavaria, Luxemburg, etc., including one from Hapsburg.
VI.—The Hapsburg Emperors, eighteen in number.

Louis the Débonnaire (or the Pious), the only legitimate son of Charlemagne, succeeded his father. He had four sons, Lothaire, Pepin, Louis the German, and Charles the Bald. The four brothers continually waged war against their father, and against each other, to secure the best portion of his heritage. Pepin died in 838, and Louis the Débonnaire, shortly afterward (840), fell victim to a disease contracted in this unnatural war. The survivors continued fighting till the whole country was ruined, and universal cries of execration compelled the combatants to come to an agreement.

Louis the Pious, 814-840.

Pepin dies, 838.

Louis the Débonnaire dies, 840.

* The number is not quite certain, some of the elections being contested.

Treaty of Verdun.

The Treaty of Verdun was thus brought about, and the Empire of Charlemagne was divided among his three surviving grandsons.

Louis the German, 840-876.

Louis received all the territory east of the Rhine, with the title, King of Germany; Lothaire, Italy, Burgundy, and Lorraine, with the title, Emperor of the Romans; Charles the Bald, the territory west of the Rhone, with the title, King of France. Thus the German sovereign had already lost the brightest jewel in the crown of Charlemagne—Italy and the title of Roman Emperor.

Condition of Germany.

Germany, at this time, was severely afflicted: constant danger on her frontiers, bloody feuds, contempt for legal authority, indifference to religion, treachery, perjury, robbery, murder—in short, universal demoralization, and a state of constant warfare, which little looked like "peace on earth.'

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Verdun, each sovereign took the oath of office. Charles the Bald, King of France, read his oath in French; Louis the German read his oath in German. We remark, in these documents, the first official separation of the German nation and language from the Latin races and languages.

Charles the Fat, 876-887.

Charles the Fat succeeded his father, Louis the German. By the death of his brother, and also of the son of Charles the Bald—whom the Treaty of Verdun made King of France—Italy and France came again under the German scepter. But Charles, too feeble and unintelligent to hold them, was deposed, and died, poor and despised, without legitimate issue.

After the deposition of Charles the Fat, France was

again separated from the Empire. The German princes now placed on the throne Arnulf, or Arnold, an illegitimate descendant of Charlemagne. This resolute soldier defeated the Normans, and also acquired the right of liege lord over Bohemia, which, in the rough wars of that period, voluntarily placed itself under his protection. After the deposition of Charles the Fat, the Imperial Roman crown was claimed by various insignificant Italian princes.

France separated from the Empire, 887.

Arnulf, or Arnold, 887-899.

Arnulf marched with an army against Rome, took the city, and was crowned Roman Emperor. His Italian enemies, however, were too strong for him. He was driven out of Italy, and soon after died,—it is said, poisoned.

The next king was Arnulf's son, Louis, seven years old, the last lineal descendant of Charlemagne. During his nominal reign, Germany was devastated by the wild Magyar robbers. The great nobles carried on feuds with each other. The oppressed people cried out: "*Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child!*" The unfortunate young king died at the age of eighteen.

Louis, the Child, 899-911.

One hundred years had passed since the Church and Empire had united to set up the Kingdom of God. Yet we find no apparent diminution of misery. The observer, however, looking beneath the surface, discovers benign changes resulting from Christianity. Long before Charlemagne, cloisters had been established in retired, beautiful places, equally sheltered from the inclemency of seasons and the tumult of war. Here woman fled from brutal violence, and the peaceful student from the din of battle. Here such men as Thomas à Kempis, Luther, etc., had time to search

Cloisters.

the Scriptures. Here the work of evangelization went silently on, and the Stream of Siloam *did* flow gently, although almost unnoticed amid the general uproar. Charlemagne and his line had encouraged these holy places, the blessings of which, until they also became demoralized, can hardly be overestimated.

CHAPTER II.

911-1024.—SAXON LINE.

THE line of Charlemagne in Germany being now extinct, there was danger that the Empire would break to pieces again, and be replaced by five fragmentary States,—the duchies of Lorraine, Suabia, Franconia, Bavaria, and Saxony. The two most powerful dukes, however,—those of Franconia and Saxony,—each hoping to secure the throne for himself, were determined to prevent the division, and by their influence a new king was elected, Conrad I., not a Saxon, but a Franconian, and, in the female line, a descendant from Charlemagne.*

Thus originated the idea of the College of Electors. Germany became an elective, although it remained in some degree a hereditary, empire; that is, the electors generally chose out of the deceased sovereign's family, or conformed to his wishes in the selection of a successor.

Conrad I., 911-918.

Conrad's reign was disturbed by frequent Hungarian inroads, and also by the rebellion of some of his great vassals. It was marked by the loss of Lorraine. The line of Charlemagne being extinct in Germany, the King of France, as his only legal heir, put forth a claim to the succession of that duchy, and Conrad was unable to resist. His efforts to curb his refractory vassals also failed, except in Suabia,

* Conrad I. is generally counted in with the Saxon emperors, although he was, in fact, Franconian.

where the Roman Church had an interest in maintaining comparative order. Conrad's greatest and most successful enemy was Henry, Duke of Saxony. Believing, nevertheless, that the Empire would be best governed by this powerful duke, Conrad, on his death-bed, recommended him as his successor. The duke was accordingly elected as Henry I. (the Great, also called the Fowler.) He conquered or conciliated nearly every one of his enemies. It was said, when he drew his sword, "he never sheathed it while there was one foe in the field." Among the difficulties he had to meet, was the insubordination of the great nobles. He overcame them by his forbearance, generosity, and genuine statesmanship. For instance, the Bavarian Duke Arnulf, one of the most refractory of his great vassals, refused obedience, and even raised an army against his liege. Henry marched to the field with a large force, but, instead of attacking, he invited Arnulf to a personal interview. The duke arrived, armed *cap-à-pie*, prepared for a deadly combat; but the Emperor came unarmed, and by his gentleness and wisdom persuaded the duke to acknowledge him as his sovereign. Henry appears in history as the second founder of the German Empire. One of his important acts was the annexation of Lorraine.

Henry I., the Great, 919-936.

This duchy had always been coveted by France. After the treaty of Verdun (855), it was given, neither to the King of Germany nor to the King of France, but, with Alsace, to Lothaire, Emperor of the Romans. It was subsequently seized by Charles the Bald, King of France. Louis the German (treaty of Mersen, 870) compelled Charles to cede again the eastern, and principal part of it, to Germany. A few

Lorraine.

years afterward, the whole was again annexed to the Empire under Henry I., and the union so strengthened that it remained undisturbed during eight hundred years, until Louis XIV., as we shall hereafter see, by a high-handed robbery, wrested it from Germany.

Under Henry I., Germany settled firmly on its foundation. Among the fiercest of his foreign enemies were the Hungarians, or Magyars, whose habit was suddenly to break out of the great forests, and pounce upon peaceable populations—their approach announced by clouds of smoke and extensive conflagrations. The defenseless peasants fled into the woods and mountains, and before help could come, the villages lay in ruins, and many of their inhabitants were carried off as slaves. Henry, not yet feeling strong enough to crush these invaders, made no demonstrations of hostility until certain of success. An incident favored his plans. One of the Magyar princes, leading a raid, was taken prisoner, and brought chained into the Emperor's presence. Large sums were offered for his release, but steadily refused. "If, however," said Henry to the Hungarian envoys, "your people will sign a treaty of peace for nine years, I will restore your chief without ransom, and pay you a tribute during that period." The Barbarians gladly acquiesced, and the nine years were spent by Henry in preparing for war. His army was gradually increased; fortresses, surrounded by heavy walls, were built, as places of refuge for the people in case of invasion; every ninth man in the population was drafted to work on these strongholds, and a certain portion of the produce of the country was required to be deposited within their walls. Owing to the Germans' lack of cavalry, the Hungarians, with their swift horses, had easily obtained

the advantage over them. Henry supplied the deficiency by organizing a large corps of cavalry.

At the expiration of the nine years' truce, a deputation of Magyar princes reappeared to receive the usual tribute. Their demands were haughtily rejected. The Hungarians, now breathing out vengeance, poured their whole force into Germany. One division was sent into South Germany, where it was cut to pieces; another, in the East, besieged one of the new fortresses, which were believed to be full of gold and silver. Henry marched against the invaders, led his army in person, and the Hungarian hordes would have been cut to pieces, had they not saved themselves by flight, abandoning all their treasures and a large number of German slaves (933).

Henry also defeated the Danes, who had invaded North Germany (934), and he restored this part of the German frontier as it had been under Charlemagne. Not only Holstein, but Schleswig thus formed a part of the German territory, and remained German until Conrad II. (1027) ceded the latter to Canute I., and recognized the Eider as the German frontier. Henry chastised the Vendish tribes, and took their capital, Brennaborg (now Brandenburg). He was making preparations to visit Rome, probably with the intention of causing himself to be crowned there as Roman Emperor, when a paralytic stroke warned him to prepare for death. He immediately called around him the great nobles of the Empire, and presented to them his son Otto, whom they all acknowledged as the next Emperor. As he felt death approaching, Henry addressed to the Empress Mathilde the following words: "My faithful, beloved wife, I thank the Lord Jesus Christ that I am called before thee out of this world. No one ever had so pious

and virtuous a wife as thou hast been. In anger thou hast softened me. Thou hast been an able counselor. Thou hast often led me back from severity to justice, and persuaded me to give protection to the helpless and oppressed. I thank thee for all this. I commit thee and our children to God. I commit unto God also my own soul, which is now about to be separated from this body."

Mathilde turned aside, knelt down, and buried her face within her hands in prayer, when a burst of loud sobs and cries from all present announced that the separation had taken place. The King was dead. His noble appearance and dignified person corresponded with the greatness of his character. He left his kingdom to a son, who also received and merited the title of Great.*

Otto I., 936 - 973.

Otto I., the Great, ascended the throne at the age of twenty-four, reigned thirty-six years, and left his ineffaceable impress upon the Empire and Europe. A chronicle says: "Imperial majesty sat upon his brow, and, notwithstanding his stern glance, which often inspired fear, his manners were friendly and cheerful." His brother Henry was at first more popular, and made efforts to secure the throne in his place; but the dukes remained faithful to the wishes of the deceased father, and Otto was chosen. His coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle was marked by extraordinary pomp. Henry had, as we have seen, re-established the broken Empire upon a solid foundation, and Otto consequently inherited new strength and prestige. Sur-

* It is interesting to remember that Henry I. was a representative of that obstinate heathen tribe of Saxons, who, about a century and a half previously, had clung with such bigotry to their idol battle-god Irmin; who carried on such bloody wars against the Empire; and 4,500 of whom had been executed in one day by Charlemagne.

rounded by all the great nobles, bishops, and vassals from every part of the German territory, the cynosure of an immense multitude, he appeared in the imperial "pfalz," or palace,* and there received from the great dukes the pledge of fealty, which each one gave by grasping Otto's hand. Thus the whole German nation voluntarily and joyfully acknowledged him as their king. The Archbishop of Mayence and two other bishops then conducted the new sovereign into the Marien Church, where he was welcomed by all the ecclesiastical authorities. The archbishop then presented him to the multitude in and around the building. "Behold him whom God has chosen, him proposed by our deceased liege lord Henry, this day elected by all the princes of the German Empire, King Otto I. If you accept him, raise your right hand toward heaven." The people raised their hands with universal shouts and cries: "God save and bless the new king!" The ceremony of anointment and coronation was then performed by the archbishop. He first gave the sword, saying: "Receive this sword, by which thou shalt drive away all the enemies of Christ. The divine authority bestows it upon thee that henceforth, in the name of Christianity, thou mayest govern the kingdom and establish peace." He then presented the scepter and the shepherd's crook (or crosier), with the words: "By these tokens thou shalt, with paternal discipline, watch over thy subjects, and prove thy moderation to the servants of God and to widows and orphans. May the oil of Mercy never depart from thy brow, that thou mayest now and forever hereafter receive thy reward." After the anointment the archbishop, assisted by the arch-

* *Pfalz.* There were several imperial palaces called by this name, which the Emperor alternately occupied.

bishops of Treves and Cologne, crowned Otto with the golden crown. Then the three bishops led him to a lofty throne, where he could see every one, and be seen of all. These ceremonies completed, Otto returned to the royal palace, where a magnificent banquet awaited him, of which he partook, with all the great spiritual and temporal dignitaries, in full view of the public. On this occasion, in order to show that they acknowledged the new king to be their royal lord and master, and themselves no more than the first of his subjects and servants, the four greatest nobles of the Empire,—the dukes of Lorraine, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria,—waited at his table (in plain English, served as waiters). They officiated in four different capacities, one having charge of the feast, another of the wine, etc. These offices subsequently became high, permanent, influential, and profitable positions around the throne.

Otto had thus undisputedly become sovereign of all the German races. Notwithstanding his unprecedented power, which caused the world to believe that the millennial dream of Charlemagne was about to be realized, he immediately found himself threatened by impending dangers. His own family rose against him, and their formidable preparations encouraged foreign enemies to invade his dominions. His brother Henry used every effort to dethrone him. Otto forgave him repeatedly. At last, Henry took part in an extensive conspiracy to murder Otto and seize his throne (941). The plot was discovered. The ringleaders were executed. Henry fled. Some months afterward Otto was celebrating Christmas Eve in the Dome at Frankfort-on-the-Main. As the choir was singing the words of the angels, "Peace on earth and good-will to men," a stranger, in the garb of

a penitent, forced his way through the crowd into the church, and knelt at the King's feet, imploring his pardon. The stranger was his brother Henry. "Although thy crime merits punishment," said the King, "yet, as thou hast confessed thy sin and humbled thyself, I forgive and embrace thee." During the rest of his life Henry remained a true brother and faithful subject, and, by the most important services, regained Otto's confidence. But new troubles were brewing. Bohemia rose in arms. The Vendish tribes attempted to throw off their yoke. Otto conquered them all, either by his sword or by his magnanimity. He was likened to a lion, not only for strength, but for generosity. Always after his victories over foreign enemies, he introduced Christianity into their country. Nearly his whole reign was disturbed by wars, which ended to his advantage. A striking incident roused all the Vendish tribes to insurrection. One of his generals, sent against the Vends, in consequence of their cunning treachery and faithless evasion of treaties, had the unfortunate idea of executing a kind of *coup de main* against them. He invited thirty of their principal chiefs to a great banquet, and caused them to be massacred while intoxicated with wine. All the Vendish tribes from the Baltic and Elbe to the Oder, consequently broke across the frontier. The struggle was long, but they were finally subjected.

Otto now founded the bishoprics of Brandenburg Havelberg, Meissen, and Merseburg. Denmark rose against Germany. Her king, Herald Blataud, seized Schleswig, drove out the German vassals, or rulers, and carried them away captive. Otto marched his army, and devastated the whole peninsula of Jutland. Arrived at the northern boundary, he threw his spear into the sea,

according to an old German custom, in order to mark the frontier of his Empire. This place still bears the name of Ottensund. The Danish king was obliged to take the oath of allegiance, and submit to Christian baptism. In 955, immense hordes of Hungarians ravaged the German territory, and forced their way even to Augsburg. In the neighborhood of that city,—at a place called Lechfeld,—Otto met them, and inflicted upon their army such a terrible lesson, that they never again dared to attempt raids within the precincts of the German Empire. This victory of Lechfeld had a special historic importance. The domination of the Hungarians had extended over a wide territory, comprehending the district which Charlemagne had torn away from the Avars, and which, subsequently, had been lost again to the Empire. It was soon reincorporated as the *Ost Mark*,—that is, the East Mark, or East Reich, or kingdom, which afterward became the Duchy of Austria, the nucleus of the Austrian Empire. The Hungarians were obliged to accept Christianity, very much against their will.

The next triumph was over Rome. Italy was in a state of civil war, and the Roman crown had become an object for contention among various Italian princes.

Pope John XII.

At the same time, John XII. occupied the pontifical throne. Already, at the age of sixteen, he had excited the hatred of the Italians by his profligacy. His palace had assumed the character of an oriental harem. An insurrection broke out, and the danger compelled John to call upon Otto for aid, requesting him to accept the Imperial Roman crown. Otto crossed the Alps with a strong army, made a triumphal entry into Milan, where he received the crown of Lombardy; then marched

Otto crowned at Milan, 961.

to Rome, and was finally crowned with the Imperial Roman diadem. From this time the Roman crown, and with it the highest temporal power in Christendom, fell to the German kings. Thenceforth the German kings were always called emperors, even in those periods when, during the subsequent troubles between Pope and Emperor, the scepter of Italy had slipped from their hands. Thus the lofty edifice of Charlemagne, which had fallen to the ground, was reerected by Henry I. and Otto I. The German populations and the contemporaneous countries more and more beheld, in the German emperors, a continuation of the line of Augustus. The official title of their Empire was thenceforth "The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," and, after Otto I., it was, until the fifteenth century, the custom of every German emperor to be crowned three times,—first on his own territory at Aix-la-Chapelle, as King of Germany; secondly, at Monza, or Milan, as King of Lombardy; thirdly, in Rome, at the grave of the Apostle Peter, as Roman Emperor. From the year 962, the date of Otto's Roman coronation, to the final termination of the Empire in 1806, a period of 844 years, the Roman Imperial crown was never placed upon the head of any other than a German sovereign.

Crowned at Rome, 962.

Although Italy did not actually form a part of the German Empire, it remained under the scepter of German emperors till 1056,—that is, till the death of Henry III., and the accession of Pope Gregory VII. Up to that time the Popes were dependent upon the Emperor. Otto bestowed rights upon Italian cities, and invested German subjects with Italian fiefs.

At the end of his reign, Otto was the object of the greatest veneration at home and abroad. Poles, Bohe-

mians, Slavonians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Italians, Danes, Saracens, came to pay him honor, or sent embassies in token of respect. His personal beauty had increased with age. His countenance and stature had always denoted a mind born to command, and to these, years now added a more imposing majesty. He was a graceful rider, a passionate hunter. His thick, heavy beard fell down low upon his breast. He was conspicuous for his deep religious earnestness, and constantly prayed while at work. He was generous, merciful, affable, and friendly, yet with all his winning manners, the nearest relation never failed to be conscious of the presence of a sovereign.

End of Otto's reign, 973.

Otto I. was succeeded by his son Otto II., aged eighteen. The relations between Germany and Italy may be imagined from the following circumstance: On the news of the death of Otto I., the Romans rose in insurrection, murdered the Pope, who was favorable to the German party, and elected another, who, terrified by the threats of the Germans, abdicated, and fled to Constantinople, carrying with him all the gold in the pontifical treasury. Otto II. soon came himself to Rome, remained there a winter, and made preparations for a war against the Saracens, who, encouraged by the Greeks, had occupied Southern Italy. Otto advanced with his forces to Taranto, and nearly succeeded in his purpose, when a powerful division of the enemy surprised his forces in a mountain-pass, and completely defeated them. He soon after suddenly died at Rome.

Otto II., 973 - 983.

Otto III., his son, became king at the age of four, under the regency of his mother, Theophania. During his reign the Empire underwent one of those vicissitudes

which so often mark its history. Although, under Otto I., it had appeared so solidly founded, it now nearly fell to pieces again. By treason, the young boy was delivered into the hands of a candidate for the throne. The King of France invaded Lorraine. The royal boy was saved by the Roman Church party, which also prevented the loss of Lorraine. We here see what opportunities the Church had to increase its influence in the Empire, and how skillfully it improved them. It possessed all the learning, and its servants alone were capable of transacting difficult public affairs. Some of the emperors themselves only learned to read at an advanced age, while the nobles were far from enjoying even that privilege. Otto was highly esteemed by the Church, and received such an excellent education that his contemporaries called him the Wonder of the World. The result was the revival in his person of the magnificent idea which shed such glory upon the reign of Charlemagne,—namely, a Christian power as the recognized master of the world. Otto was early taught to look for this leading power to the Church alone. He neglected the Empire to benefit the Papacy. He looked upon the Saxons as barbarians. He placed upon the throne of St. Peter two strong representatives of the Papal idea,—Gregory V. and Sylvester II. Notwithstanding his great power, the close of his life was humiliating. He was unable to repress the insurrections of the Danes, the Wends, the Frieslanders, etc. He attempted to make Rome his capital, and built himself a superb palace on the Aventine. This project, however, failed to find favor either with the Germans or Italians. He was at last summarily driven out of Rome, and died in his twenty-second year, it is said, by poison. During

Otto III., 983-1002.

his reign the thousandth anniversary of the Holy Nativity was celebrated. In a few years this festival will be repeated on a grander scale in all Christendom.

Henry II., last of the Saxon line, called *The Saint*, because of his devotion to the Roman Church, surrendered to Benedict VIII. most of the Imperial rights secured by his predecessors. Upon this condition the Holy Father crowned him Roman Emperor. It was the dangerous policy of Henry to use the Pope as an instrument against his own refractory nobles. He was the first who assumed the title of *King* of the Romans, until the time when he was crowned Roman Emperor. From that time the title was borne by the presumptive heir to the throne. Notwithstanding the weakness of the last two sovereigns, the Saxon dynasty presents some of the noblest emperors, Henry I. and Otto I. Their aims were high, although the realization was impossible. The constant grasping after Italy weakened Germany, which was, moreover, undergoing a process of decentralization. The great Dukes were becoming stronger. They had usurped the right of electing the Emperor; and, when elected, the latter could not always, without their aid, either carry on foreign war or repress internal disorder. Nevertheless, the grand original idea plainly re-appeared, and fascinated the German people. They were still charmed by the vision of an omnipotent Empire, including among its elements the Roman Church, a resuscitation of the old Roman Imperators, extending over all the inhabitants of the globe, and destined to last till the end of time.

Henry II., 1002 - 1024.

One force which, according to the Apostate Julian, had already broken the despotism of the Cæsars, was slowly and silently working against these grand visions of an

Eternal Empire, and secretly undermining its foundations. Such observers as Arnold of Brescia, Huss, Savonarola, etc., long before the Reformation, no doubt, looked confidently forward to that event. They knew that the Gospel, however bound, scourged, spit upon, crucified, dead, buried under mountain heaps of abuses and heresies,—if it were what Paul calls it, the "power of God,"—like its Divine Master, must rise again; and that no empire, no republic, not resting on the unmutilated and immutable Gospel of Christ, can withstand the storms and currents of the world.

CHAPTER III.

FRANCONIAN LINE.

THE Franconian line ruled Germany for more than one hundred years. At the death of Henry II. and the extinction of the Saxon line, the Empire seemed about to be rent asunder again. Conflicting interests, ungoverned passions, a general demoralization manifested themselves by robbery, murder, and assassination. The great dukes who had been in some degree held in repression by the strong hand of former Emperors, now saw an opportunity to become independent. The general desire, however, of the Germans, was to maintain the Empire, and the result was a great national meeting at Kamba, on the plain of the Rhine, between Mayence and Worms, for the purpose of testing the possibility of an imperial election. There was something very picturesque and impressive in this ceremony. The Rhine at that time was entirely a German river. From its source on the St. Gothard to its mouth on the North Sea, not one inch of its shores had ever been owned by a foreign power. Here the nation met. The neighboring cities being unable to offer adequate accommodation for the crowding multitudes, the greater number encamped in the open fields; Saxons, Slavonians, Franks, Suabians, Bavarians on the right bank; Lothringians (inhabitants of Lorraine), on the left bank of the grand national

National Meeting at Kamba, 1024.

river.* Dukes, counts, bishops, and other great dignitaries conducted the meeting; every other consideration being outweighed by the all-governing idea of a *Germany united under one ruler.* Then the election took place. After various endeavors, several aspirants being proposed and rejected, two candidates were at last selected: the young Duke Conrad of Franconia, and another Conrad, a Franconian Count, called the Salier, from the Frankish tribe to which he belonged. The two were related by blood, and joined in friendship; but the long contest, during which the scales inclined first to one side and then to the other, threatened to arouse lasting enmity, and to cause a civil war.

At length, the elder Conrad, the Count, advanced toward his young rival, and said: "Let us not by discord stain the honor which has this day fallen upon our race. I hereby declare that, should you be elected, I will be the first to offer you the oath of allegiance." Duke Conrad made a corresponding declaration. The noble candidates embraced and kissed each other in presence of the multitudes. The election then proceeded. It was the right of the Bishops to vote first. They all voted for the elder

* The German claim to the Rhine has always been contested by the French. The following imperfect translation may give some idea of a German song by Becker:

"No, they shall never have it, our noble German Rhine,
Although, like hungry ravens, all their screaming voices join,
As long as, gently flowing, its verdant banks it laves,
As long as dripping rudders beat against its silver waves;
No, they shall never have it, our free and German Rhine,
While fearless hearts are kindled by its gleaming fire wine;
As long as solid mountains rise, reflected from its strand;
As long as, mirrored in its breast, fair domes and towers stand;
As long as, from its singers' lips, a song floats on the air;
As long as fishers cast their nets, or youths woo maidens fair;
Never our free, our German Rhine by stranger feet be trod;
Till its last man lie buried deep beneath its German flood."

Conrad. The temporal princes were advancing to give their vote, when the younger candidate, Duke Conrad, stepped forward, and publicly gave his vote for his rival. This decided the question. The subsequent votes were all given for the elder. Amid universal acclamations, Count Conrad was elected, triumphantly conducted to Mayence and there crowned King of Germany, as Conrad II.

Conrad II., 1024-1039.

A strong, upright Emperor, he had to contend with the greatest disorder and demoralization, as well in the Empire as in adjacent countries. The Faustrecht, from the time of Charlemagne and for many subsequent centuries, reigned almost supreme. The strong plundered the weak. The great nobles were perpetually involved in long, fierce feuds. Robber-knights, intrenched in their almost inaccessible rocky fortresses, were in fact, although belonging to illustrious families, a band of ruthless brigands. Conrad proved himself equal to the emergency. Immediately after his coronation, he started on a royal progress through his Western provinces. Nobles, bishops, and people received him with acclamation, and the strong opposition which had arisen in Alsace and Lorraine melted away in the sunshine of his majestic presence. On the few occasions, when rebellion raised its head, it was promptly met by the sword; for while the Emperor's character was noble and merciful, he was inflexible in meting out deserved punishment. In less than three years he transformed the chaos of his Empire into comparative order.

During his reign, the Italians endeavored to throw off the Imperial yoke. In compliance with the invitation of prominent bishops, who believed Italy to be safer

under German rule, Conrad led an army across the Alps into Italy. He first visited Milan, where he was crowned with the crown of Lombardy, and, thus confirmed in his title of King of Italy, he subjected the cities of *Pavia* and *Ravenna*. In Ravenna he came near falling victim to a great Italian conspiracy. In the night, while the German army slept, the gates of the town were closed, and an attempt was made to massacre the Emperor and all his troops. The Germans, aroused from their beds, cut their way through the murderous bands, and compelled them to surrender. Conrad then made a triumphal entry into Rome, and on Easter-day was crowned by Pope John XIX. The church was filled with great princes, among them the Danish King Canute the Great, and Rudolph of Burgundy. So glorious was Conrad's Italian campaign, that the Germans considered it could not have been accomplished without supernatural aid. At Rome, a treaty was agreed upon with King Canute, by which Conrad ceded to Denmark the Mark of Schleswig. Conrad deemed the loss and apparent dishonor of such a treaty outweighed by its advantages. It brought to a close a series of wars which for a hundred years had afflicted the northern provinces of the Empire; it insured a lasting and solid peace, and rendered it possible to establish Christianity upon a firmer foundation. After a reign of fifteen years, Conrad died, having raised his throne higher than he had found it. The people spoke of him as equaling Charlemagne in greatness. He was succeeded by his son, Henry III., who not only equaled, but surpassed him.

Conrad crowned, 1027.

Henry III., 1039-1056.

Henry III., in his twenty-second year, was immediately elected. He took his place as if the throne had been hereditary. He surpassed most

of his predecessors and raised still higher the power of the Empire. Denmark was weakened by the death of Canute. France was at that time an insignificant kingdom. Henry was the most powerful sovereign in the world. His first step was to make a royal progress through his Western provinces (1040), where powerful and warlike rivals, among others, Duke Gottfried, were seeking to wrest from the Empire the whole, or part of the Duchy of Lorraine. The multitudes crowding around him on his way, gladly did homage to the young king at the head of his magnificent *cortege*, clothed with all the imposing splendor of undisputed royalty, surrounded by the grandest personages of the Empire, princes from Italy, vassals from Burgundy, meeting him on his way, bending before him with rich presents, and humbly taking the oath of allegiance, the oppressed among his subjects soliciting redress, and the haughtiest of his enemies yielding obedience. Everywhere on his journey he enforced laws and equity, sternly punished criminals and ruffians, received the repentant with clemency, and extended the hand of mercy to the poor and helpless. A rising storm soon called him to his Eastern provinces. In Poland the peasants were in rebellion against a merciless aristocracy. Paganism also was there making a new attempt to drive out Christianity. The churches were desecrated and robbed, and the clergy persecuted. Bretislaw, Duke of Bohemia, had formed a plan to conquer Poland and unite all the Slavonic nations in one independent Christian kingdom. If successful, this plan would tear from the Empire the territory extending between the Elbe and the Oder, a region slowly conquered during so long a period and at so heavy a cost of life and treasure. Henry, therefore, marched against Bretislaw. After two campaigns, he forced his enemy to

sign a peace, liberate all prisoners, and pay a heavy fine moreover, he retained the son of Bretislaw and several o his greatest nobles as hostages. In Regensburg, Bretislaw himself, barefooted and in the garb of a penitent, appeared before the king, threw himself at his feet and presented to him the Bohemian flag. Henry then generously re stored him to his duchy and thus made him a life-long faithful friend.

Bohemia.

After Emperor Arnulf (900), Bohemia had become more or less a fief of the Empire. We may here state in advance that, in reward fo assistance rendered against rebellious subjects, Frederic Barbarossa bestowed (1158) the kingly dignity upon Duke of Bohemia.

The next storm came from Hungary. Her king, Peter was engaged in a struggle with his subjects. His prin cipal minister and friend, Buda, was one day in consulta tion with him, when a band of armed nobles broke int the room and tore Buda to pieces in the king's presence Peter fled to Regensburg, and in a kneeling position en treated Henry's assistance. The young king thus saw both Bohemia and Hungary at his feet. The insurgent Magyars, however, determined to anticipate an inevitabl conflict. Without any declaration of war, a great army broke into Germany, surprised and cut to pieces a large German force, and retreated with many prisoners and an immense booty. But before they had gone far, Henry' general, Luitpold, having hastily assembled all the troop within his reach, pursued and overtook the enemy, whom in their turn they surprised off their guard. The German prisoners, at sight of their countrymen, broke loose from their Magyar guards, seized weapons and wreaked terribl vengeance upon their enemies. Luitpold gained a com

plete victory. The routed enemy fell in large numbers. A few escaped by flight. After several campaigns, Henry succeeded in subduing the Hungarians and made a triumphal entry into Stuhlweissenburg for the purpose of receiving the oath of allegiance from the Hungarian king. In a vast public assembly representing the whole Hungarian nation (1044), Peter surrendered into Henry's hand the golden spear, emblematic of his kingdom, performed his part in the legal act (Belehnung) by which he received back his kingdom as a fief of the Empire, and took the oath of allegiance for himself and his successors. But the throne thus recovered, Peter did not long retain. Paganism raised its head again. The Christians were persecuted; Peter once more fell into the hands of the rebels, was deposed, fearfully mutilated, and his eyes put out. The succeeding king, Andreas, renewed his oath of fealty to the Empire and his obligation to pay tribute. But Henry was involved in fresh wars with this troublesome vassal. The powerful German princes, while outwardly bending before their imperial master, rejoiced over his difficulties with Hungary, and awaited only an opportunity to strengthen their own power at the expense of the throne. The depravity of Europe had now reached a frightful degree. This was particularly the case in France. The throne was impotent; the nobles were engaged in ruinous feuds; the peasants robbed without redress; fields were ravaged; traveling coaches and merchant wagons plundered on the highway; vice, cruelty, crime, licentiousness ran riot without fear or punishment. The judgment of Heaven at last fell upon that dissolute society. Three years of extraordinary and almost uninterrupted rains destroyed the harvests, causing a dreadful famine. We should not dare to mention the

facts if they were not re-asserted by a recent German authority: in this period men murdered in order to devour each other, and new graves were not safe from the wretched beings whom hunger had driven to despair and madness.

Truce of God, Treuga Dei, 1041.

In this extremity a truly Christian institution called the *Treuga Dei*—Truce of God—was first originated in Burgundy by the monks of Cluny. It soon spread over Italy, Spain, and England, and was introduced into Germany.

It was decreed by ecclesiastical and afterward confirmed by temporal authorities, that a complete suspension of hostilities among the nobles engaged in private feuds should take place during certain periods of the year; for instance, every week, from the moment of sunset on Wednesday to the moment of sunrise on Monday; from seventy days before Easter to the eighth day after Pentecost, etc. It was declared sacrilegious to stain the earth with blood during that portion of the year hallowed by the sufferings and death of the Saviour. During those times certain classes of persons, as travelers, women, etc., and certain utensils, agricultural, etc., and certain places to be indicated by a cross, as a refuge for the persecuted, were to be held sacred by soldiers and robber-knights. Every one guilty of violating the edict was placed under the ban. It is stated that the institution exercised a salutary influence in repressing the brutality of those horrible times, although we shall see, in the very next reign, that it was far from accomplishing its purpose. Pope Urban II. (1095) proclaimed the *Treuga Dei* as a law to be observed throughout the whole Christian world. At the end of the twelfth century, however, it fell into disuse, and a new institution, called the *Lan-*

desfriede, took its place. Henry earnestly endeavored to introduce the *Treuga Dei* into Germany. He was himself a sincere Christian, carrying his faith even to fanaticism. On public festivals, before placing the crown upon his head, he confessed to a priest, and then caused himself to be scourged upon his naked back till covered with blood. It is deplorable to see so noble a character submitting to such erroneous teaching, but it was at least an evidence of his sincerity.

In Rome, matters were in no better condition: civil war, private feuds, robbery, murder, profanity reigning supreme; bishops and abbots in full armor, at the head of their followers, revenging their wrongs against each other; priests shamelessly violating the laws of man and God; ecclesiastics of every rank, from the Pope down, seeking only to gratify the lusts of the flesh; simony universally practiced; highest ecclesiastical offices bought and sold. The city of Rome was a focus of infamy. Pilgrims were murdered and plundered at the city gates; knights with drawn swords pressing into the churches, grasped the gifts laid by pious hands upon the altars of the saints and the Virgin Mary. As an illustration of this scandalous period, three Popes were at the same time elected and reigned simultaneously. Benedict IX., Sylvester III., and Gregory VI., all of them profligate swindlers, growing rich by the sale of ecclesiastical offices and fulminating bulls of excommunication against each other. The eyes of the whole world were now directed to the King of Germany as the only one who could reduce this chaos to order. The Archdeacon Peter hastened from Rome across the Alps to Germany, knelt at Henry's feet, entreated him to come to Rome and save the Church by his acceptance

Three Popes, 1045.

of the Roman crown. Henry hastened to comply, crossed the Alps, and, like Charlemagne, entered the sacred city as its acknowledged master. Declining, however, himself to pass sentence upon the three guilty Popes, he caused them to be brought before a tribunal organized for the purpose, and personally attended the trial. Sylvester III. was found guilty of simony, deprived of his ecclesiastical dignity, and condemned to spend the rest of his days in a cloister. Gregory confessed his crimes and resigned the sacred office, amid the not very flattering applause of the assembly. Benedict IX., who had procured his election by bribery, sold it again, and contrived for a time to remain in possession. He also was dethroned, and the question now arose, who should ascend the Papal chair. Henry commanded a new election, but the Romans replied: "In the Emperor's presence we have no right to cast votes; and even were he absent, the same would be true of his representative. We failed in our previous attempt, and since our election turned out so unworthily, it lies with your Majesty alone to restore the Apostolic Church, and to appoint a new Pope." Whereupon Henry rose from his seat, took the hand of the German Bishop Suitger, of Bamberg, and, in spite of his resistance, conducted him to the apostolic chair amid the unanimous applause of the assembly.

Henry III. goes to Rome, 1046.

On Christmas-day the new Pope,—thenceforth known as Clement II.—performed the ceremony of crowning King Henry, Emperor of the Romans, and Agnes, his wife, Empress. This coronation took place on the same day of the year and in the same church as that of Charlemagne. The acclamations of the people resounded through the building; the German warriors triumphantly joined

Crowned Emperor, 1046.

in the shouts which hailed their King Imperator, and the Romans declared that no Pope should ever again ascend the chair of St. Peter without the Emperor's consent. Pope Clement II. (Suitger) died. The Romans sent embassadors with a written communication to the Emperor, begging him, as servants beg their lord, to select a new Pope. Henry appointed Damascus II., who died three weeks after, probably from poison. The Romans now again asked the Emperor to appoint his successor. Henry decided in behalf of Leo IX. The new Pope and the Emperor went hand in hand in Church reform. Leo soon died, however, recommending the Church to the care of *Hildebrand* (afterward Gregory VII.), then absent as papal legate in France. Hildebrand declined the honor, and the Emperor appointed Bishop Gebhard, who became Pope under the name of Victor II. Henry now made a second journey to Italy, in order to consolidate his power on that peninsula and to co-operate with the Pope in reconstituting the Church upon a new basis. While thus engaged, he received alarming information. A great conspiracy of the German princes and nobles had been headed by his own uncle, for the purpose of murdering him on his way back from Italy, and raising Conrad, Duke of Bavaria, to the throne. The conspirators hoped thus to break the imperial power, decentralize the Empire, and place it under the rule of a feudal aristocracy. Duke Conrad suddenly died, and Duke Welf, one of the ringleaders, at the same time, smitten with a dangerous malady, and believing himself at the point of death,

Death of Clement II., Pope, 1047.

Damascus II., Pope, 1048.

Leo IX., Pope, 1049–1054.

Victor II., Pope, 1055.

revealed the plot to the Emperor. The latter appointed Pope Victor Governor of Italy, clothing him, as his vicegerent, with great political power, and, temporarily, with many privileges as Pope. The Emperor then unexpectedly appeared at Regensburg (Ratisbon), threw the astounded conspirators into prison, and confiscated their estates. He thus escaped a great danger, but clearly saw that the selfish ambition and corrupt treachery of the nobles would surely lead them to new attempts against his safety. His next heir was a child; his magnificent reign was drawing to a close. His sagacious mind, no doubt, foresaw the events which subsequently happened. Other misfortunes now gathered around him. Gottfried, Duke of Lorraine, again rose in rebellion, for the purpose of wresting that duchy from the Empire, as an independent kingdom. On the other side, a threatening insurrection of the Wends broke out. Henry's labor and anxiety impaired his health. He was obliged to seek repose, and took up his residence at the castle of Bodfeld, in the Harz Mountains. Here he manifested a deep despondency. In this state of mind he received news which broke his heart and laid him upon his death-bed: his army had been surrounded and completely cut to pieces by the Wends. He recommended his infant son Henry as his successor under the regency of the Empress Agnes, advising the latter to seek counsel and support at the hands of Pope Victor II. He died at the age of thirty-nine, having reigned seventeen years.

Death of Henry III., 1056.

Henry IV., 1056-1106. Saxon Insurrection.

Henry IV. was not quite six years of age when he succeeded to the throne. With the consent of the nobles, his mother, Agnes, assumed the regency. They gladly welcomed a

period of administration by a feeble woman, and prepared to take a brutal advantage of the opportunity. Fully realizing her own weakness, Agnes appointed Henry of Augsburg her chief minister. Many of the spiritual and temporal princes, disappointed at not receiving the appointment, declared themselves insulted. Among these was Archbishop Hanno, of Cologne. Under their influence, signs of discontent manifested themselves. Agnes, kept in constant terror by reports of conspiracies to murder the King, looked around for friends, but in vain. Instead of generosity and manly sympathy, she found nothing but treachery and selfishness. Count Rudolph demanded the Duchy of Suabia. Upon her refusal, he kidnapped the young princess, Agnes' daughter, from the cloister where she was receiving her education. The other nobles made no endeavor to redress this cruel outrage, and the helpless mother was obliged to bestow upon the robber the Duchy of Suabia and her daughter in marriage. One prince alone interfered, but only with an ignoble motive. Berthold of Zähringen, who had marked the Duchy of Suabia as his own prey, now armed his serfs and vassals against Rudolph for one of those bloody feuds in which the warlike lords were continually engaged. Agnes arrested the feud by bestowing upon Berthold the Duchy of Carinthia. In the hope of securing aid against these and other refractory subjects, she appointed Otto, of Nordheim, Duke of Bavaria. Otto, like others, betrayed her whenever his interest required. A new, and yet more atrocious act brought the regency of the unfortunate Empress to a close.

She was spending the summer (1062) at Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, with the young king, then twelve years old.

One morning a vessel came down the river from Cologne, and stopped at Kaiserswerth. On board were Archbishop Hanno, Otto of Nordheim, Eckbert of Brunswick, and others. A party, including these illustrious dignitaries, landed, and expressing a desire to pay their respects to their young sovereign and his Imperial mother, were courteously invited to partake of a banquet, which they did. The king was then solicited to inspect the beautiful vessel which had been fitted up with royal splendor, carpets, curtains, gold and silver, paintings and sculpture—every thing that could charm a youthful imagination. The boy was scarcely on board when the vessel was pushed off from the land, and rapidly sailed up the river. The crowds on the shore cried out: "The king is kidnapped!" His unfortunate mother, with shrieks of despair, gazed helplessly after the ship from a balcony till it disappeared in the distance. The young prince, fearing murder, leaped into the Rhine, but Eckbert sprang in after him and brought him again on board. The boy was taken to Cologne. An assembly of princes immediately met, who decided that Hanno should thenceforth administer the government. Agnes retired into Italy, where she spent her days in pious Christian works. Hanno immediately called his fellow-conspirators to the highest offices of the Empire. But his crime, while it awakened the envy of some, had aroused the indignation of all truly honest men. On the occasion of a necessary absence in Italy, Hanno appointed Adalbert Archbishop of Bremen, co-regent, surrendering to him for a time the administration of the government and the guardianship of the king. Adalbert, instead of proving a faithful instrument, betrayed his patron. Hanno had educated Henry with gloomy severity, in order to make him an obedient

tool for the Church. Adalbert pursued the contrary system and sought to dazzle and delight his young pupil by opening to him all worldly pleasures and sinful lusts, a system far more to Henry's taste. The two prelates were thus competing for supreme power (1068), when suddenly Adalbert, at a large meeting of princes and nobles in Worms, executed a kind of *coup d'état.* He declared Henry of age, although only fifteen years old. The delighted king immediately seized the reins of government, banished Hanno, and chose Adalbert as his chief minister. Under the pernicious influence of that cunning prelate, all the seeds of evil in the boy's character germinated and matured, and it is remarkable that his higher qualities were not wholly annihilated. We thus see in the earlier part of this reign the scepter in the hands of a sensual, spoiled child, dishonest, self-indulgent, passionate, licentious. The most infamous enterprises formed the principal amusement of the king and the dissolute young noblemen by whom he was surrounded. Their criminal acts were imitated by the people. All control disappeared, and lawlessness and anarchy increased. The young king had no confessor, nor was there any stern friend at hand to repress his vicious outbursts. The profligacy of the court only strengthened the enemies of Adalbert, and in due time the old ring, Hanno, Siegfried, Otto, Rudolph and consorts, re-appeared at court stronger than ever. They compelled the king to banish Adalbert, who scarcely escaped with his life, and whose vast possessions were seized by and divided among his enemies. In order to put an end to the young king's profligate life, a grand Diet of princes compelled him to marry Bertha of Susa. Already deeply embittered against the arrogant nobles, who had stripped

him of every royal prerogative, Henry's worst passions were inflamed by this new act of oppression, and all the more from the fact that he was compelled to submit. He manifested the deepest antipathy to his wife, and continued his licentious living with his profligate companions. He, moreover, used every endeavor to procure a divorce (1069), and succeeded in bribing the Archbishop of Mayence to grant the decree: but Pope Alexander II. instantly canceled it. The tide had changed. The return wave of Papal power was beginning to flow in. This extinguished Henry's last hope of a divorce. But circumstances led him to the discovery that the lady he had so obstinately rejected was a beautiful, intelligent, and virtuous woman, and, moreover, despite all his unkindness, tenderly attached to him. When he compared her modest gentleness and genuine purity with the vulgar characteristics of his former companions, the nobler perceptions of his nature were aroused, and he felt the difference between vice and virtue. The romance ended by a mutual declaration of love; and in all Henry's terrible subsequent vicissitudes his wife proved his most faithful companion and greatest earthly consolation. No doubt her influence finally redeemed his character.

Saxon Insurrection, 1073.

A general insurrection of the Saxons now broke out. For ambitious purposes of his own, it had been Adalbert's policy to imbue the King's mind with distrust against his Saxon subjects. The latter could not forget that the Empire had been governed, for over a century, by Emperors of the Saxon line, and they regarded the Franconian sovereigns with unbounded hatred. The Emperor erected fortresses along his frontier, which led the Saxons to believe that he intended to seize the province for himself and with-

draw all its rights. Saxony broke out into rebellion, and an army of 60,000 insurgents took Henry prisoner in Goslar. He escaped, however, and fled, wandering three days and nights through vast forests, in constant danger of being discovered and put to death. Now occurred one of those dramatic changes which frequently marked his eventful career. The most powerful nobles of the Empire, outside of Saxony, becoming alarmed at the growing proportions of the insurrection, and fearing that the Empire, if rent asunder, might fall into hands more dangerous to them than the present Emperor's, suddenly came to Henry's aid. The mass of the nation also seeing his destitution and the peril of the throne, declared in his favor. Henry thus soon found himself at the head of an irresistible military force, marched against the insurgents, and overtook them carelessly encamped on the Unstrut, near Langensalza.

Battle of Langensalza, 1075.

Henry was now twenty-five years of age, and of majestic stature. Full of martial ardor, he led the attack in person, and distinguished himself by his courage and daring. A chronicler, giving free vent to his enthusiasm, describes him as "surrounded by his chosen knights, rising in height above them all, mounted on a superb war-horse, flashing in golden armor, conspicuous among thousands, he appeared amid his warriors as the morning star in the heavens." The battle was hotly contested, but the King was at last victorious. The enemy fled, leaving 8,000 dead bodies on the field. The Saxon knights who escaped owed their lives to the swiftness of their horses. The poor peasants were massacred without mercy; the whole province was devastated. The young conqueror slaked at the same time his thirst for military

glory and for revenge. In pompous triumph he entered Goslar, whence the preceding year he had so ingloriously fled. Otto von Nordheim, chief commander of the Saxons, after fighting with desperate fury, and being borne away by the current of his routed troops, was taken prisoner with many others. The Imperial army was now drawn up in two lines, on a broad plain near the principality of Schwarzburg Sondershausen. In order to receive the submission of the princes, counts, and chief leaders of the conquered Saxons, Henry, seated upon a high throne, surrounded by all the great officers of his court and army, beheld the long procession of his conquered enemies. Bare-headed, bare-footed, without arms, their heads bowed with shame, on they came, passing between long rows of haughty conquerors, till they reached the raised platform, where sat the king whom they had insulted, imprisoned, dethroned, and attempted to murder. Among them were Otto of Nordheim, who had kidnapped the king when a boy; Magnus, Duke of Saxony; Hermann, Count-Palatine, and many other spiritual as well as temporal lords. All humbled themselves before Henry. Some were banished, some conducted to prison. Their fiefs, dignities, and fortunes were confiscated, and bestowed on Henry's followers. Where could the Saxons now find succor? They appealed to the Pope. And who was the Pope at that time? Gregory VII. (Hildebrand of Tuscany).

Pope Gregory VII., 1073-1085.

We must here pause to give a brief account of the remarkable man seated at that time on the throne of St. Peter. Hildebrand had received his early education in the Monastery of Cluny, where an order of pious monks, leading lives of the most severe morality, deplored the frightful existing

state of society, and looked to the Roman Church as the only hope of mankind amid impending catastrophes. Here, in their seclusion, the *Treuga Dei* originated, and here, too, young Gregory received the impression that the Church, after being duly cleansed and purified, ought to become the sole arbiter both of ecclesiastical and temporal power. Later (1049-1054), this same Hildebrand became Leo IX.'s trusted counselor, and under the four subsequent Popes, Victor II. (1055), Stephen IX. (1057), Nicolas II. (1058), and Alexander II. (1061), the affairs of Rome were in point of fact solely administered by himself in their name. He had thus, during fourteen years, been secretly laying foundations for his plans under the reigns of Henry III. and Henry IV. The state of the Empire during the minority of Henry IV. (1059) permitted Hildebrand to act without opposition. In 1056, when Henry IV. was only nine years old, while his mother, Agnes, was browbeaten and robbed by her nobles, and the Empire seemed breaking to pieces, Hildebrand had convoked at Rome a great Ecclesiastical Council, excluding, however, German Bishops. In this council he succeeded in causing a resolution to be passed, that no one should thenceforth fill the chair of St. Peter unless appointed by a college of Roman Cardinals, and that German Emperors should never again exercise the right of confirming a Papal election unless at the special request of the Holy See. On this same occasion, Hildebrand, then only a Cardinal, placed on the head of Pope Nicolas II., a crown on which was engraved the following inscription: "*The crown of the Kingdom from God's hand; the Imperial German crown from Peter's.*" He thus meant to proclaim that the Pope was the direct representative of God upon the earth, that he could bestow the

Imperial crown upon whomsoever he pleased or withdraw it whenever he chose; and that all ecclesiastical and temporal power could flow only from the Pope. While thus asserting the infallibility and supremacy of the Church, the daring intervention of the ambitious Cardinal in the political affairs of Italy was far more marked by the genius of a diplomatist than by the spirit of an apostle. In Southern Italy the greatest changes were taking place. The Normans were gaining possession of that part of the peninsula, and founding the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Two Norman adventurers, Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger, had seized, among their conquests, a territory belonging to the Church, and had been accordingly placed under the ban. In the name of Pope Nicolas II., Gregory now undertook to convert these powerful Norman conquerors from enemies into friends. He drew Robert Guiscard into an alliance, released him from the ban, and confirmed his possession of all the territories he had conquered. In consideration of this arrangement, by which the Pope disposed of territories which did not belong to him, Robert took the oath of fealty, and promised to pay tribute, and to protect the Holy See in the daring struggle presently to be undertaken against the Empire. Hildebrand had been elected Pope under the name of Gregory VII. two years before the battle of Langensalza, and seventeen years after the accession of Henry IV. The long desired opportunity to strike a decisive blow at the Empire was now at hand. He immediately began by introducing startling reforms, assuming infallibility in religious matters, abolishing simony, and reviving an old rule fallen into disuse,* en-

* This decree of Gregory was abolished by Bismarck, in Germany, January, 1876.

forcing the celibacy of priests. The object was to cut off the clergy from all the relations of social life; to deprive them of all temporal power and worldly influence, and so reduce them to a state of absolute subjection to the Pope. The priest who had a wife and children, was commanded to abandon his family or resign his office. This created a powerful anti-papal party in the Church as well as outside of it; in Italy, Germany, and other parts of Europe, even in Rome itself, a violent opposition continued for two centuries.

Right of Investiture

Another and still more startling decree forbade, under penalty of the ban, every temporal power to exercise the Right of Investiture in cases of ecclesiastical offices. Till now, this right had been exercised without dispute by temporal princes. The withdrawal of it was a very serious intervention in the affairs of the Empire. The German Archbishops were princes, possessed of large territories, sometimes of military force, and exercising certain powers of government, emanating, of course, from the sovereign. If these powers could be bestowed only by, or with the approval of a foreign pontiff, upon what kind of foundation did the Empire stand? The whole feudal system would be destroyed, or delivered up as an instrument of ambition into the hands of the Pope. By this decree, Gregory claimed no less than one third of the territory in all Christian countries.

Henry IV., after the Saxon Insurrection.

Such was the Pope to whom the Saxons appealed; such the enemy who rose in the path of the victor of Langensalza. Henry, having replaced upon his head the crown of the Empire, had sent embassadors to Gregory, announcing his approaching visit for the purpose of re-

ceiving the Imperial Roman crown. The message arrived at a very opportune moment for the Pope, who was just throwing off the mask, and preparing to assume his place as master of the Empire. But the times of Otto I. and Henry III. had gone by. Gregory replied by calling Henry to account for the scandals and corruptions of which he was guilty. He threatened him with punishment for continuing to exercise the right of Investiture, in disobedience to the papal decree; charged him with infamous simony, with blasphemously favoring persons under the ban of the Church, and with other crimes; and declared that if, within a certain short period, Henry did not forsake his evil conduct, abjure his sins, and do penance for them, the Pope would be compelled to depose him and place him under the ban of the Church. This communication might have disturbed a more balanced mind than Henry's. What! This to the haughty and victorious sovereign of Germany? to the son of Henry III., before whom the Pope had bent like a suppliant vassal! Henry regarded the insult as proof of an alliance between Gregory and the Saxon insurgents. He accepted the challenge, called a National Council at Worms, and deposed Gregory from the papal chair. At first, the whole German Church took sides with Henry. The decision of the Council of Worms was communicated to the Pope, accompanied by a letter from Henry himself, as insulting as unbounded rage and habitual indulgence of his passions could make it. Among other passages was the following:

Deposes Gregory, 1076.

"Henry to the false monk: Thou hast ascended to thy seat by cunning and fraud. Thou art loaded with just maledictions. Come down from thy usurped apos-

tolic chair. I, Henry, by the grace of God, King of Germany, and all our bishops command thee. Come down! Come down!"

An envoy of the King, Roland, was immediately sent to Gregory with this highly diplomatic communication, and armed with the royal decree of deposition. At the moment of his arrival, Gregory was presiding over a synod in the Lateran church. The envoy entered, and immediately addressing the Holy Father:

"Sir!" said he, "Henry, Emperor of Germany, and the German and Italian bishops, command thee to descend from the throne thou hast usurped by robbery; for without the Emperor's consent, no one has a right thereto."

Then turning to the assembled clergy, he went on:

"As for you, brethren, you are required to send embassadors to the Emperor, that you may receive a new Pope from his hand. This Gregory here is no Pope, but a ravenous wolf."

The Roman knights drew their swords, rushed up to Roland, and would have cut him to pieces, had not Gregory himself protected him at the risk of his own life. The Pope, however, subsequently commanded the luckless envoy to be dragged through the streets and cast into a dungeon. Gregory now solemnly launched the ban of the Church against Henry, deposed him from his throne, and released his subjects from their oath of allegiance.

Gregory VII. deposes Henry IV.

Henry had rashly under-estimated the strength of his opponent, and thoughtlessly overlooked the circumstance that his feudal lords were bound to the throne by very precarious ties, which already they had often endeavored to break. By the authority of the Church itself these ties were now suddenly and simultaneously broken. Al-

though heretofore compelled to bend before the throne, the nobles had never desired to increase its strength. Here was an opportunity for all to gratify their ambition; perhaps for each to carve out a throne for himself on the occasion of Henry's downfall. They could justly plead the King's private licentiousness, his corruption in public government, and particularly in ecclesiastical affairs,—a looseness in such striking contrast to the purity and holiness of Pope Gregory's life. Dukes and counts would, no doubt, have been glad, long before this, to throw off the Imperial yoke; but their mutual distrust, the possibility that some of them might betray the rest, a certain common pride in one great united Germany, and inborn respect for "that divinity which doth hedge a king," had prevented any concerted action. The papal bull was a master-stroke. Nobles and bishops fled from the King. The triumphant Saxons rose again in insurrection; and a great parliament of princes assembled at Tribur on the Rhine, for the purpose of deciding upon a mode of government without the King, perhaps without the throne. To this parliament Gregory VII., of course, sent well instructed legates. Henry's enemies of course gladly seized the opportunity to take their revenge upon the haughty Emperor. His past life and character were held up to abhorrence; his friends abandoned him; he saw himself on the brink of destruction; he knelt and prayed to the scornful parliament; declared his repentance, and promised that, if they would only leave him the name of King, he would abandon the government. There was, notwithstanding, a disposition to depose him completely. This was prevented by Gregory himself, who found it more expedient to retain a broken-down enemy, tolerated

by his clemency, than to risk the advent of an unknown successor, perhaps wiser and more dangerous. The parliament (1077) finally resolved that a synod should be held the following year at Augsburg, for the settlement of this question, and that Henry should submit to the decision. Should he refuse, the assembly would at once proceed to elect a new King. He was commanded, in the meantime to live as a private gentleman, dismiss his counselors, abstain from meddling with public affairs, and forsake every assumption of regal authority. He was compelled to submit, and took up his residence in Spire. There that same majestic sovereign who, mounted upon a superb war-horse, riding amid his valiant knights, at the head of dauntless armies, had gained the victory of Langensalza, and who had later compelled the great conquered dukes to file before his throne bare-footed and humbled,—now himself far more humbled,—learnt the hard lesson of adversity. In his deep humiliation and despair, Bertha, his faithful wife, with their little three-year-old son, Conrad, and a single devoted servant, alone remained with him at Spire. What could he now do? The ban of the Church cut him off from all relations of life, and assisted his numerous enemies in their endeavors to accomplish his ruin. He came suddenly to a bold decision. He would cross the Alps before the Worms synod had time to come together, humble himself and do penance at Gregory's feet, obtain his release from the ban, effect a reconciliation with the Church, and thus regain his royal power. This was his only way of salvation from absolute ruin, and no time must be lost. It was January, 1077 (a winter of such extraordinary severity that the Rhine remained frozen during

Henry IV. at Canossa, 1077.

nearly four months). He, nevertheless, persisted in trying his desperate experiment. Secretly escaping from Spire, accompanied by his wife, his child, and the servant, he started upon his journey, maintaining the strictest incognito. To avoid pursuit, he was obliged to take a circuitous route by Geneva and Savoy, over Mont-Cenis to Lombardy. The toil and perils of the way were great. Narrow, slippery paths now led the travelers along the brink of a precipice; now they were obliged to crawl on hands and feet up or down the dangerous pathway. They escaped, however, with their lives. On reaching Lombardy, he was recognized and triumphantly hailed by the great nobles of the anti-papal party. They hoped he had come to place himself at their head, and he was speedily surrounded by a large military force. On hearing of his appearance in Lombardy, Gregory believed he had come to settle the question by the sword, and fled to Canossa, a strong fortress in Northern Italy, near Modena. Henry, however, declined all offers of military support from the Lombard nobles, and, alone and unarmed, followed the Holy Father to the summit of the steep rock on which the fortress of Canossa stood.

Notwithstanding the humble manner in which he approached, Gregory sternly refused to see him. At length he condescended to make a communication. He would see him on one condition: Henry, clothed in the garb of a penitent, should appear before Gregory, confess himself unworthy of the German crown, and declare that he surrendered it into the hands of the pontiff. Gregory subsequently withdrew this condition and substituted another. He required that Henry, without any companion, should enter the outermost court of the fortress, there

change his apparel for a single woolen shirt, and, barefoot and bare-headed, await in the open court the Pope's decision. The Emperor complied with these conditions. For three days, continually shedding tears and begging for mercy, he thus remained, awaiting the Pope's pleasure; until all present were also moved to tears, and so indignant at the severity of the Holy Father that they cried aloud: "This is not apostolic justice, but savage tyranny!" On the fourth day, Gregory admitted Henry to his presence and consented to release him from the ban; but only upon the following conditions: Henry was to return to Germany as an humble pilgrim, to refrain from every exercise of royal authority, till the Reichstag should decide whether he could retain his throne. After requiring from Henry an oath to the effect that he would truly and faithfully perform the above conditions, the Pope at last declared the ban removed. A solemn mass was celebrated, in which the Emperor's repentance was, no doubt, as deep as the Pope's apostolic spirit was genuine. The two sovereigns breakfasted together, and Henry went back to Germany. On his return, the German nobles hastened to call him before a new Reichstag at Forchheim (Bavaria); but the invitation was declined. Upon this, they deposed him from his throne and elected in his place Rudolph, Duke of Suabia, who had gained his duchy by kidnapping Henry's young sister. Rudolph was elected upon condition that he would abandon to the Pope the Imperial right of Investiture, and relinquish forever for himself and heirs all hereditary claim to the throne. This was an important victory of the Church over the Empire.

But the news of the proceedings at Canossa had awakened throughout Germany and Italy a feeling of

indignation against the Pope, which resulted in a favorable change in public opinion toward the humbled monarch. Henry was not slow in perceiving this change. Disregarding his oath, he accepted an invitation from the Lombard chiefs to place himself at their head, and soon found himself in command of a Lombard army. As he passed through the Duchies of Carinthia and Bavaria, he was everywhere received with shouts of welcome, and his army increased by continual re-enforcements. He became the hope and rallying-point of all the enemies of Rome, and of all who hated and feared Gregory. He soon found himself powerful enough to set the crown again upon his head. He issued a decree deposing Rudolph, and severely punished the nobles who had taken part against him. Their fortunes were confiscated, their subjects released from their allegiance. A new war became inevitable. It soon broke out between Rudolph and Henry.

Gregory now played a double part. He abstained from declaring himself either in favor of Henry or Rudolph. Meanwhile, his legates appropriated as much money as they could squeeze out of both parties. At last, however, when the war seemed going against Henry, the Pope once more deposed him, and laid him under the ban. But Gregory had grown unpopular in Italy, as well as in Germany. The people were not yet ripe for his assumption of divine authority. He had overbent the bow, and it broke in his hands. This time, Henry did not find it necessary to repeat his pilgrimage to Canossa.

The contest went on until, in a desperate battle, Rudolph was defeated and mortally wounded, having, besides, lost his right hand in the fight. The world, and indeed the whole German people, as well as Rudolph

himself, regarded this as a judgment of God. He died the next day, and in his last hour repented of his treason. "*See*," cried the dying Duke, "*this is the hand with which I swore fidelity to Henry. Now must I forsake Empire and life. You who persuaded me to sit on the throne of my liege, say now if you led me aright?*" A withered hand is yet shown in the Cathedral at Merseburg as that of Rudolph. His death and public confession greatly strengthened Henry, whose authority ceased to be questioned.

1080.

He bestowed the Duchy of Swabia upon Count Frederic of Buren, as a hereditary fief, and with it the hand of his daughter Agnes. The new Duke, the first Hohenstaufen upon the stage of this history, was an able soldier, and a faithful and powerful friend. Leaving him to dispose of his German enemies, Henry crossed the Alps again to humble Gregory VII., to break the ban, and place the Imperial Roman crown upon his own head. As he advanced toward Rome, his re-enforcements continually increased.

The First Hohenstaufen.

At last, he besieged the Eternal City. Even at this critical moment, he would gladly have put an end to hostilities by receiving the crown from Gregory's hand; but the inflexible Pontiff refused all terms, and, unable to hold the city, fled, never to return. Henry entered Rome, formally deposed Gregory, seated Clement III. on the throne, and from the hands of the latter received the Imperial crown. Scarcely was the ceremony accomplished when Robert Guiscard, the Norman knight already mentioned as an ally of Gregory VII., arrived with a strong army. Henry was obliged to retire, and the city was given up to plunder. It was set on fire, and a great

1081-1083.

Clement III., 1083.

part burnt to the ground. In the conflagration, the Coliseum was greatly injured.

Death of Gregory, 1085.

Gregory died two years later. His last words were: "I have loved justice; I have hated iniquity. Therefore I die in banishment!" Gregory is variously judged. Some think he was devoured by morbid ambition, which he endeavored to gratify under the mask of religion. Others maintain that he was a sincere reformer, and adopted severe measures only because he thought them indispensable to the fulfillment of his purpose. Whether his reluctance to ascend the apostolic chair was sincere or affected, or whether he was one of those self-deceived hypocrites who delude themselves with the idea that they are acting from a sense of duty when, in reality, gratifying their own ambition, the reader must judge for himself. It is difficult to determine upon the true spirit of men's actions when the key to their motive remains withheld. We may, nevertheless, attempt to form an opinion by remembering how the Divine founder of Christianity bore himself upon the earth. He never acted secretly. He had no mysterious transactions with rebels, pirates, money-changers and usurers, except to drive them out of the temple or bring them at last into his fold. He also was a Reformer, and laid the foundation of a Kingdom, but he used no dishonest means. He sought no alliances with warrior-dukes and princes. He cherished no haughty, merciless pride, and when men came to make him, perforce, a King, he departed into a mountain alone. "Gregory VII.," says Stacke, "was one of those cold, heartless men who arbitrarily dispose of the happiness of millions of their fellow-creatures, and, without regard to the means, have

Thoughts on Gregory.

only one motive, namely, *wordly power*." Gregory asserted the claim of Papal infallibility, but his claim was not generally acknowledged.

Infallibility.

His redoubtable adversary removed by death, Henry thought himself master of the position. He was mistaken; instead of his own candidate, two inimical Popes, Victor III. and Urban II., were successively raised to the papal chair. German princes also brought a new anti-king into the field, Count Hermann, of Luxemburg. The state of society, both in Germany and Italy, as well as in other parts of Europe, was at this time more anarchical than ever. The strong oppressed the weak with impunity. Everywhere raged fierce civil war, merciless private feuds, brutal widespread "Faustrecht," robbery, murder by fire and sword.

One of the latest German historians gives the following account of this period: "There were often at the same time two Emperors to the Empire; two Bishops to one bishopric; two Dukes to one duchy; two Counts to one earldom." What should we do in the United States if we had at the same time two rival Presidents; two Governors to each State, each supported by a band of furious warriors; two Chief-Justices in the Supreme Court; two Generals-in-Chief in the army? The Pope saw with delight the chaotic state of the Empire; he had no interest in bringing about a better order of things.

Now occurred again one of those remarkable changes in Henry's affairs. King Hermann abdicated (1088). The same year, Otto of Nordheim, who had joined Henry's bitterest enemies, was removed by death. The next formidable enemy was Burchardt, of Halberstadt. He was killed in a public tumult, and, as if Heaven had come to the help of imperial authority, the Mar-

grave Eckbert, of Meissen, whom the Roman Catholic party had declared King of Germany, was also killed. The rebellious nobles were struck with a kind of religious consternation and returned to their allegiance. No new anti-king was elected. Henry was beginning to hope that his stormy days might be followed by a tranquil evening, when Pope Urban II. (1090), by dazzling promises of wealth and power, succeeded in turning Prince Conrad against his father. Shortly afterward (1101), after a short successful campaign in Italy, Conrad was abandoned by the Lombard cities, and died in early youth, the victim of Papal intrigue. The Emperor then declared his second son Henry his successor, and being now an older and a wiser man, enlightened by experience and ripened by suffering, conscientiously endeavored, in spite of the intrigues of the Papal party, to govern his country wisely and peaceably. He exerted himself to establish the Treuga Dei upon a firmer foundation, and urged the German princes to swear obedience to it. But Rome had determined not to permit an excommunicated Emperor to govern Germany in peace. The Pope succeeded in seducing Henry's second son (Henry) from his father's cause, by persuading him that he would lose the crown altogether unless he immediately seized it during his father's life-time. The young prince was emphatically assured that there was no sin in the act; on the contrary, that it was a meritorious deed to violate his oath of fealty to a father excommunicated by the Church. Another civil war thus broke out. The Emperor, at the head of his army, approached the insurgents. The rebellious son, afraid to venture a battle, invited the Emperor to an interview at Coblenz. The invitation was accepted, in the hope of peace. When Henry beheld his son, he was overcome with

anguish, and cried out like David: "My son, my son! if God is to punish me for my sins, do not thou stain thy soul by becoming the instrument; for it is not right that a son should sit in judgment over his father." The son pretended to be deeply affected, knelt at his father's feet, humbly protested that the only motive of his conduct was to effect the reconciliation of his father with the Church. He added that if the king would but accompany him to Mayence, arrangements could be made which would insure an immediate reconciliation. The Emperor accompanied his son to Bingen, after dismissing his troops. Here they were met by a messenger with the information that the Archbishop of Mayence refused to receive the Emperor. The son, seemingly astonished and disappointed, proposed that they should repair to the Castle of Beckleheim, near Kreuznach, where the affair would no doubt be immediately arranged. Scarcely had they crossed the threshold of the castle when the traitor threw off the mask. The king not only found himself a prisoner, but treated with the severity of a convicted felon, cruelly deprived of all the comforts of life, and almost without food. From Beckleheim, he was finally removed to Ingelheim (December, 1105), where the Archbishop of Mayence, assisted by several princes and by his unnatural son, compelled the unfortunate Emperor to a public confession of all his sins, and the final surrender of his throne.

The Emperor was neither released from the ban nor from his prison; and, believing that he was about to be murdered and perhaps aided by some one whose heart had been touched with sympathy, he succeeded in making his escape and reached Liége, where he met noble friends and indignant avengers. His unworthy son instantly

pursued with a military force; but the Duke of Lorraine had taken up the Imperial cause, and the armies were about to meet in battle, when Prince Henry received the joyful news that his broken-hearted father was dead. The unfortunate sovereign was fifty-six years old. He was buried with solemn imperial honors. But death was no refuge from the vengeance of the Papal party, who would not permit even the bones of their excommunicated enemy to lie at rest. The grave was opened, the coffin brought out and conveyed to a small island on the river Meuse, where it was long left unburied, in solitude and dishonor. Henry's great princes and nobles, even his own children, had all deserted him. The State had abandoned him; the Church had cursed him. The Roman Church, either by fraud or force, had succeeded in seducing his faithful wife Bertha from her allegiance to her husband, and even in converting her into one of his active enemies. Only one humble follower, a monk, did honor to his body. Here in the open air, night and day, alone with God and the dead, the pious friend uttered prayers for the soul of the deceased monarch. After a considerable time, the body was taken again to Spire, and without religious ceremonies laid in a chapel of the Marien church; but the bishop ordered the coffin to be once more removed to a chapel which had not yet been consecrated. Here it remained five years, when at last the ban was withdrawn and the body buried in holy ground.

Death of Henry IV., August, 1106.

Thus fell the sovereign who had ventured to measure himself with Rome. Through his demoralized character some virtues had always shone; and, in his later years, benevolence, magnanimity, courage, and a matured mili-

tary genius, commanded the respect and awakened the affection of his subjects. But in his person the Empire degenerated. The crown of Charlemagne and Henry III. paled before the Roman miter.

Henry V., 1106-1125.

Henry V. reigned nineteen years, ever the same heartless, treacherous, mean character, though brave and energetic. Pope Pascal II. refused to invest him with the Roman crown unless Henry would abandon the right of investiture. Henry invited the pontiff to visit him in Germany in order to adjust the difficulty. Pascal accepted the invitation, and had completed part of the journey, when some friend reminded him that Henry had once likewise invited his father to the castle of Beckleheim for the purpose of an amicable arrangement of conflicting interests. The Pope turned back. The Emperor having espoused the daughter of Henry I., King of England, a five-year-old princess, crossed the Alps with an army of thirty thousand horsemen, not counting the infantry, to claim the Roman crown at the hands of the Holy Father. A great quarrel ensued. The German troops loudly demanded the coronation of the Emperor. The Pope steadily refused, upon which Henry ordered him and his cardinals to be arrested. A bloody battle ensued, in which the Germans were victorious. The environs of the city were devastated; the Roman priests and nobles brutally treated, and the Pope with sixteen cardinals carried away prisoners, and dragged from one castle to another. This was the Empire's reply to Canossa. At length the Pope purchased his release by a renunciation of the right of investiture, and a promise never again to place the Emperor under the ban, and in no way to seek revenge for the rough treatment he had received.

Henry's course aroused universal indignation. An Italian Council immediately laid him under the ban as a second Judas.

Calixtus II., Pope, 1119.

In 1118, Pope Pascal died, and in 1119, Gelasius, his successor, died also, after a short reign. He was succeeded by Calixtus II. Henry appointed an anti-pope, known as Gregory VIII. Calixtus caused Gregory to be arrested, dragged through the streets, scourged, stoned by the people, and finally banished (1121). The final result of these quarrels was that Henry was crowned Emperor of the Romans. This triumph over the Pope was, however, of short duration. Henry soon found himself too weak to contend any longer with Rome. He called a Reichstag at Würzburg, where an agreement was drawn by which the Emperor definitively surrendered the right of investiture. The quarrel had lasted fifty years. Henry died without issue (1125) in the nineteenth year of his reign. The Franconian line had wielded the scepter for a whole century. The people regarded its extinction as a judgment of God upon an unnatural son.

Lothair, of Saxony, 1125-1137.

As the third great line of Emperors disappeared from the scene, the four chief German nobles, the Dukes of Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria, with about sixty thousand of their principal subjects, assembled on the shores of the Rhine to elect a new king. Each of the four nationalities elected ten princes; each of these four groups of ten princes chose one elector. These four electors elected the king. The first step of the four electors was to choose three candidates: Frederic, Duke of Swabia, a Hohenstaufen (not Barbarossa); Lothair of Saxony, and Leopold of Austria. The most prominent of these three

was Frederic of Hohenstaufen, who hastened to claim the throne. His rights were superior to those of his rivals. Public opinion had selected him, and he was sure of success; but, owing to the intrigues of the cunning Archbishop Adalbert, of Mayence, who saw in the Hohenstaufen an enemy of Rome, and in Lothair a docile instrument, the latter was elected. This was a very important historic event—a victory of the Church over the party representing the independence of the Empire. The German princes at the same time also proclaimed their right to elect a candidate without regard to the principle of hereditability; for Frederic was not only the choice of the nation, but was considered the legitimate heir to the throne, being Henry V.'s nearest living relative. Nevertheless, Lothair was placed on the throne. The new Emperor, humbly kneeling at the Pontiff's feet, received the crown for himself and his successors, from the hands of Innocent II., and consented to hold the Empire as a fief of the Holy See. He rendered important military assistance to the Pope in Italy. On his return to Germany, he was suddenly prostrated by sickness and died on the way, in a poor peasant's hut. With him the grand imperator idea of a German Empire disappeared for a time. The Pope now virtually stood at the head of the Empire. Lothair's election had been regarded with deep indignation by the Hohenstaufen party. It struck the first spark of the great feud between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines.

The reader will here remark another example of the unchangeable resolution with which, during twelve centuries, Rome has struggled with the Empire for political as well as ecclesiastical supremacy. Often defeated, always rising again; now on her knees, begging the Em-

peror to appoint a Pope; now haughtily summoning him as a criminal to her bar, or deposing him, and forbidding his subjects to obey him; she has never relaxed her efforts to obtain, and never despaired of finally obtaining universal dominion. In our day, stripped of her territory and deprived of her temporal throne, instead of retreating from the field, she has flung out her ancient banner, higher than ever, inscribed with two dogmas surpassing all her previous pretensions; and with this banner in her hand, she has successfully confronted the strongest political power on the earth.

CHAPTER IV.

ACCESSION OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN LINE.

GUELPHS AND GHIBELLINES—FREDERIC BARBAROSSA—HENRY VI.—INNOCENT III.—CONRADIN, LAST OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN—GREAT INTERREGNUM—RUDOLPH OF HAPSBURG.

THIS period is ushered in by the long-protracted and bitter feud of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions.

The Guelphs, or Welfs, were a princely family of Italian origin who had settled in Germany and accumulated immense property both in Germany and Italy. Their representative in the time of Lothair was Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony. The present Dukes of Brunswick and the royal family of England are descended from these Guelphs.

The Ghibellines take their name from the German word Waiblingen, a fortress of Swabia (Wirtemberg), belonging to the Hohenstaufen family.

On the death of Lothair, Conrad of Hohenstaufen, Frederic's brother, and Henry the Proud, both aspired to the throne. Henry had already received from Lothair the crown jewels and other imperial insignia; he thought himself assured of the Pope's support, and had every reason to suppose his election would successfully take place. He was Lothair's son-in-law, and held, in addition to his own domain, the vast estates of the illustrious Princess Mathilde of Tuscany. But although Pope Innocent II. had placed Lothair on the Imperial throne, the

Pontiff had since grown alarmed at Duke Henry's imperious bearing.

The Popes were enemies of the Hohenstaufens, and finally destroyed them; yet, on this occasion, Pope Innocent II. supported Conrad. The German princes, fearing that Henry would take possession of the throne by force, assembled at Coblenz three months before the legal election day and declared Conrad of Hohenstaufen, Emperor. The Papal Legate immediately crowned him at Aix-la-Chapelle, as Conrad III. It was an illegal election, and Henry would have had a right to complain had he not intended to grasp the crown in a still more illegal and summary fashion. His hopes being thus destroyed, he haughtily refused two invitations to attend the Imperial Diet. The third he accepted, and came, but with such an armed force that Conrad was obliged to fly for his life. Henry was then laid under the ban of the Empire, the Duchy of Saxony taken from him and bestowed upon Albert the Bear, afterward founder of the city of Berlin. A civil war now broke out; at first a simple quarrel between the Hohenstaufen and the Guelph families; but which gradually became a struggle between the Papacy and the Empire, raged in Germany and particularly in Italy for nearly three centuries, put an end to the Hohenstaufen line, brought the last descendant to the scaffold, and at length reduced the Empire, for a period of twenty years, to a state of almost unparalleled anarchy, without any rightful Emperor at all on the throne.

Conrad III., Emperor, 1138-1152.

In the course of this celebrated quarrel, Guelph cities waged war against Ghibelline cities. The number of Ghibellines put to death on the scaffold or in prison, in the 12th century, by the Marquis of Este alone, is esti-

mated at 50,000. *Hie Welf! Hie Waiblingen! Strike for the Guelph! Strike for the Ghibelline!* were the redoubtable battle-cries with which the two parties contending for the mastery of the world continually broke the day's peace and the night's silence, flooding the streets with blood.

At the battle of Weinberg, where Conrad defeated the Guelph army, occurred the following incident: Conrad, enraged at the obstinate resistance of Weinberg, commanded every man in the town to be slain; the women might leave with whatever of their treasures they could themselves carry away. The city gates were opened. A long line of women appeared, each bearing a man upon her shoulders,—her husband, brother, father, or friend. Frederic, the Emperor's nephew, protested against this interpretation of the permission, but Conrad replied: "*The word of an Emperor is sacred.*"

At length, Conrad, weary of the feud, attempted to settle it. Henry the Proud had died, leaving a son ten years old, afterward Henry the Lion. Conrad bestowed upon this child the Duchy of Saxony, taking it back from Albert the Bear, who had proved unable to maintain himself against Henry the Proud, and indemnifying him with the North Mark, now raised to the rank of an Independent Principality.

Besides his war against the Guelphs, Conrad had difficulties with Burgundy, Bohemia, Poland, etc., whose sovereigns, although compelled to bend before him as vassals of the Empire, took advantage of every opportunity to assert their independence. Conrad was preparing to cross the Alps for the purpose of repressing an insurrection, when news arrived that the conquests made by the Christians in the First Crusade had been taken

back by the Turks. Abandoning all other plans (1147), Conrad now placed himself at the head of a Second Crusade, the disastrous issue of which, with some account of the other crusades, will be related further on. On returning to Germany (1152), he died in consequence of the fatigue and injuries suffered during this expedition, and without having been crowned Emperor of the Romans. Notwithstanding the honesty of his character and his superior talents, the Empire had degenerated during his reign. He recommended his nephew Frederic as his successor.

Frederic I., Barbarossa, 1152-1190.

Frederic I., thirty-one years of age, was unanimously elected in conformity with Conrad's wishes. He was called Barbarossa on account of his reddish beard. His reign lasted for a period of thirty-eight years.

Italy was at this time (1154), as it had been so often before, in a state of anarchy. The towns were at war with each other, and most of those of Lombardy, with Milan at their head, in insurrection against the Empire. They ridiculed the idea of crowning a German monarch, Emperor of the Romans or King of Lombardy. Frederic sternly determined to maintain his rights over the Papal States and the rest of Italy, and to restore the Empire to its ancient supremacy. The town of Lodi had complained to him of wrongs suffered from the town of Milan. Frederic sent an embassador to the latter city with an order that Milan should redress these wrongs. On arriving there, the embassador was nearly torn to pieces by the Milanese. Frederic now marched an army across the Alps. On the way, some acts of robbery were committed by his soldiers. Unable to ascertain the perpetrators, the Emperor im-

First Italian Campaign.

posed a fine upon the entire army, thus making the whole responsible for the good conduct of every individual. The plundered peasants were surprised by an ample reparation. As Frederic entered Italy, the Ghibelline party received him with enthusiasm. The Guelphs were in consternation. Deputies from Milan came to the German camp offering a large sum of money for the confirmation of their sovereignty over the smaller cities. Frederic indignantly rejected the bribe. The deputies were bidden to meet the King at Milan, where he would decide the question according to justice. He determined, before entering Milan, to deal with the other rebel cities. The first town that ventured to refuse supplies was razed to the ground. One city after another opened its gates, either voluntarily or compelled by force. The towns of Asti and Chiari were so frightened at the approach of the army that the inhabitants fled to the mountains. The towers and walls of the city were torn down (1155). Tortona refused to open its gates, and stood a two months' siege. It was then taken, plundered, and razed to the ground. The inhabitants were spared, and permitted to remove such of their property as they could carry with them. On the destruction of Tortona, most of the other towns surrendered.

Frederic crowned King of Lombardy, April 15, 1155.

In Pavia, Frederic caused himself to be crowned with the Lombard crown by the Bishop of the city.

In the city of Rome, Arnold of Brescia had raised the cry of reform, and a political revolution had blended with this ecclesiastical movement. Arnold loudly proclaimed the abuses of the Church, preached to great crowds that the kingdom of Christ was not of this world; that Popes and

Arnold of Brescia Burned, 1155.

Bishops must give up temporal power and worldly possessions, or abandon their hope of salvation; urged the separation of Church and State, and spoke in behalf of other radical reforms. He was supported by the Roman Senate, and in consequence of an attempt to arrest him, a tumult broke out and a Cardinal was killed. Pope Hadrian IV. now declared Arnold under the ban and the city of Rome in a state of excommunication. All public worship was suspended, no sacrament administered, no bell tolled, no marriage blessed, the dead were no longer buried in consecrated ground. The town was declared to be under the curse of the Almighty. The people rose in consternation. Numbers of the Senators abandoned Arnold and threw themselves at the Pope's feet. Arnold fled, and at last found a refuge with Frederic, who had now marched his army to Sutri, a few miles from Rome, and thence had just notified the Pope of his desire to be crowned Emperor in Rome. Hadrian replied that he was ready to perform the ceremony, but only on one condition: Arnold must first be surrendered into his hands. How did the great Emperor and protector of Christianity reply to this summons? Did he return a lofty answer, such as he gave to the Deputies of Milan? Did he respond by threatening to come to Rome personally to decide the question according to justice? Here was a grand opportunity to assert himself before posterity as a Christian Emperor, rescuing the Gospel from hands that desecrated and profaned it. How noble a name he would then have left! How incalculable the consequences had he remained faithful to his lofty mission! But the Pope held in his hand a more dazzling bribe than the one offered by the Milanese deputies, and Frederic accepted it without hesitation. He ordered

Arnold to be surrendered. The fearless teacher of the true Gospel was at once given up to the Papal envoys, who, impatient for his death and fearing fresh tumult among the populace, caused him to be crucified before day-break at the Porta del Popolo. His body was burned and the ashes cast into the Tiber. We have here an illustration of the manner in which both Pope and Emperor fulfilled their mission as protectors of Christianity. The two highest powers of the globe united to sacrifice the word of God and its noble defender. This was a crime continually repeated by the Papacy and the Empire. On their meeting after Arnold's death, Frederic refused to hold Hadrian's stirrup, and Hadrian refused to give the Emperor the customary kiss of peace. Frederic objected that he had not much practice in "holding stirrups." Nevertheless, on the advice of his counselors, he at last performed that humiliating part in the ceremony. The Holy Father then condescended to bestow upon him the kiss of peace, which amicable proceeding was immediately followed by a very threatening quarrel. Roman deputies arrived in Sutri, stating that the Pope would perform the ceremony of coronation, on condition that Frederic should pay five thousand pounds of silver into the Papal treasury, and solemnly swear never again to disturb the Pope in his government. Frederic haughtily replied: "*I am astonished at the nonsensical folly of your speech. It is absurd for you to ape the former dignity and grandeur of Rome. Not only the government, but the virtues of Rome have passed to the Germans. I do not come to beg any thing from you. I come to save you. I come as the prosperous man comes to the miserable; the strong, to the weak; the brave, to the cowardly.*"

Why did not Frederic return as proud a reply in the

matter of Arnold? He immediately sent into the city a body of chosen troops, who surrounded the Church of St. Peter. In the morning, accompanied by the Pope, and at the head of his army, he made a triumphal entry into the city, where Hadrian publicly crowned him Emperor of the Romans, after which Frederic left the city and returned to his camp. During this visit to Rome he had noticed a picture representing the Emperor Lothair kneeling to receive the Imperial crown as a fief from the Pope. At his order, the painting was immediately destroyed. The coronation, performed without requiring from the Emperor an oath to respect the laws of Rome, was considered an outrage by the Roman people and caused a new tumult. A large body of Romans treacherously attacked the Germans in their camp while they were resting and without distrust. A bloody conflict ensued, in which, principally in consequence of the courage of Henry the Lion, the Germans were victorious. A thousand Romans were killed, two hundred made prisoners. Frederic exclaimed: "We have indeed bought the Imperial crown, not with silver, but with iron, according to the German fashion."

Frederic crowned Emperor of the Romans, June 18, 1155.

The Pope still refused to admit Frederic within the city. Leaving Rome, therefore, for the present, the Emperor marched his army into South Italy, there to wrest from their Norman conquerors the provinces they had torn from the Empire, but he now found himself powerless. His forces had been reduced by pestilence and battle. The time of service of his vassals had expired. He released his army, and retaining only a chosen body of troops, returned to Germany. As he passed Verona, he came near being destroyed by the Italians, in revenge

for the destruction of the towns of Asti and Tortona. The river Adige was to be crossed upon a bridge of boats. The Veronese had arranged to let some heavy rafts down the river at the moment of the passage of the German troops, in order to destroy the bridges and the army at the same time. The rafts, however, did not reach the bridge till the German force had crossed. The Germans soon afterward approached a narrow ravine, closed in by lofty precipices. They found this occupied by a strong force of the enemy, who received them with hoots and shouts of derision, while heavy rocks were hurled from the heights and rolled down upon them. They were saved by Otto of Wittelsbach, the Emperor's flag-bearer, who, with two hundred athletic young Germans, scaled the precipitous heights. With incredible efforts, they reached the summit, where they planted the imperial banner with shouts of triumph, eagerly echoed by the Germans below. The Italians found themselves surrounded by troops which appeared to have come down from heights only inhabited by eagles, and were now attacked both in front and rear. In the desperate conflict, five hundred Italians were slain,—the rest, with their leader Alberich and eleven of the noblest Guelph knights, were hanged upon the trees and left swinging in the air, a ghastly warning to the enemy. This Italian campaign had lasted two years.

Greatness of the Empire, 1158.

Frederic returned in triumph to Germany. During the reign of his predecessor Conrad, the Roman crown had seemed lost. Frederic had regained it. The rebel towns were destroyed, the Pope humbled, the treacherous Veronese punished. He knew himself to be safe for a time from foreign attacks; and feeling now more firmly seated on his throne, he at once applied himself to the task of bringing to

order the chaotic elements of his Empire, repressing feuds among the nobles, and sternly enforcing his commands upon the highest as well as the humblest of his subjects. Twelve princes, some of them among the most powerful, were punished by the old ignominious penalty called *dog-carrying*, for having practiced "Faustrecht" without the Emperor's consent. Each of these haughty warriors was compelled to carry his own dog upon his back during a walk of some five English miles, no doubt amid the shouts and derision of the multitude. This was considered so shameful a degradation that one of these nobles, Count Palatine Hermann, immediately afterward retired into a cloister, and there died of a broken heart. The robber-knights lived in castles built on rocky heights, whence they could safely pounce upon their prey, and plunder helpless travelers on the great thoroughfares of land and water. They now learned that they had a master. Frederic, in person, at the head of a strong force, suddenly marched through the regions infested by these noble brigands, stormed and razed their principal castles, and, as a chronicler briefly relates, "*destroyed their inhabitants, man and mouse.*"*

Germany had now an Emperor indeed; and when we read of Frederic's many noble deeds, we can but deplore that his glory should have been stained by the cruel execution of Arnold of Brescia. At this time, Beatrix, a lovely, noble lady, heiress of the immense territory of Count Reinold of Burgundy, was seized by her cousin William, and cast into a tower, where he intended her to end her days in captivity, that he might inherit her

* These robber-knights, however often destroyed, always re-appear; and, even in our time, have come up in the forms of speculators, monopolists, etc. Instead of castles on cliffs, with draw-bridge and dungeon keep, their strongholds are now found on plains, in cities, lighted with gas and supplied with all the modern improvements.

lands. She, however, found means to solicit the aid of Frederic, who not only compelled her oppressor to release the princess, but also made her his wife. She became the pride and ornament of the Hohenstaufen court, and the mother of five sons. By this union, the Emperor greatly increased his territory. We may judge of the grandeur of the Empire at this time from the following facts. At a Reichstag in Würzburg, there were present embassadors from Italy, France, Burgundy, Denmark, Spain, England, Greece, etc. Henry II., King of England, sent magnificent presents to the Emperor, with this greeting: "*England and all else that belongs to us, we here offer to thee, that every thing may be ordered according to thy wish. Let there be between our nations, concord, union, and amicable relations, but in such a way that thou as the greater shalt retain the right to command; and on our side shall not be wanting the will to obey.*" A writer says: "No one could behold a German Reichstag in the eleventh and twelfth centuries without acknowledging the German Empire to be the first and mightiest in the world. Here appear Danish princes, come to submit their quarrels to the Emperor, requesting him to bestow the crown upon whichever candidate he may deem most worthy, and taking a solemn oath that no king of Denmark shall ever ascend the throne without the consent of the Roman-German Emperor. Yonder stands the Polish Duke Boleslaus. He has brought a tribute of five hundred pounds of silver, with other costly presents, the product of his own land. When the Emperor repairs to church, the Duke, as his vassal, carries his sword before him. Here stands the King of Hungary waiting to renew his oath of fealty, and there, embassadors from the Byzantine Emperor, who have brought

valuable presents, and ask for help against their enemies. Here is a plenipotentiary from the Sultan of Iconium, arrayed with oriental splendor, and bearing gifts from the East, asking that his royal master may be baptized into the Christian church, and receive as his bride a princess of imperial blood.

At this Würzburg Reichstag an unexpected episode occurred. Two Legates from the Pope brought a communication in which Hadrian spoke of the Imperial crown as a fief. The assembly manifested considerable agitation at the words. "Why this excitement?" cried Cardinal Roland, one of the Legates. "From whom did the Emperor receive the Empire if not from the Pope?" Otto of Wittelsbach drew his sword and would have laid the rash Legate dead, had not Frederic himself prevented him. Frederic then ordered the Legate to return to Rome, and immediately issued a proclamation in which he declared that he had received the Imperial power from God alone, and should regard as an enemy of Christ any one who considered his crown as a Papal fief. Frederic next began making arrangements for a second descent into Italy. It was even proposed that the Empire should organize a German church with an independent head as Pope. Hadrian, alarmed, apologized for the expression, declared it had been misunderstood, and that the word used did not mean a fief.

Second and Third Italian Campaigns, 1158.

During Frederic's absence from Italy, the Lombard cities, Milan, Piacenza, Brescia, Crema, Verona, had again formed a league. With great pomp Frederic marched a large army into Italy through different Alpine passes. He was greeted on the other side of the Alps by re-inforcements from the anti-papal and Ghibelline parties, so that his

army soon amounted to one hundred thousand infantry, besides fifteen thousand cavalry. The Lombard cities having refused to surrender and insultingly defied his threats, Milan was now invested, and the Emperor declared the Reichsacht over the town. The Milanese made several sallies, but in vain. An Italian knight, mounted on an immense horse, rode out one day to the German camp and invited the bravest German knight to meet him in single combat. The challenge was accepted by Count Albert of Tyrol, who presently appeared, without helmet or armor, bearing only a shield and lance, and mounted upon a horse of small proportions. After a short combat, Albert hurled the Italian from his saddle and laid him prostrate on the ground; but instead of slaying him, magnanimously gave him his life. The city was soon reduced by hunger, and surrendered on the following conditions: the inhabitants to swear fealty to the Emperor; the towns held in subjection by Milan to recover their independence; a magnificent palace to be built for the Emperor's use; public magistrates not to be elected without Frederic's sanction, and three hundred hostages to be delivered into his hands. The city dignitaries were publicly to humble themselves before the Emperor and sue for mercy. The German army was drawn up in two lines, between which the procession advanced. It consisted of the archbishops, clergy, monks, and others, headed by cross-bearers; the Council of Nobles; twelve of the chief burghers, barefoot, their naked swords tied around their necks; last, the people of the city, with ropes about their necks, pale, starving, in rags. The Emperor sat aloft upon a throne. First, the Archbishop implored mercy for Milan. He received the kiss of peace and was invited

to take his place among the German Archbishops. The chief magistrate then spoke aloud: "*We have sinned, we have done what was wrong; we beg for pardon; we lay our swords at your feet, and our lives in your hand.*" Frederic replied: "*I have more pleasure in rewarding than in punishing; but no one must forget that I am to be propitiated by obedience, not awed by war. Assured as I am that the city will never again stray away from the right path, you shall no more be made to feel my power and strength, but only my mercy and benevolence.*" The Reichsacht was now canceled. The Emperor mingled among the crowd of his humbled enemies, warmly shook them by the hand, and sometimes kissed and consoled them with friendly words.

Frederic now proceeded to Monza, near Milan, and caused himself to be crowned with the Italian crown, and called together a great Italian Parliament for the purpose of confirming his claim as sovereign of the peninsula. This, with other circumstances, brought on a yet more serious quarrel between Frederic and Pope Hadrian. The Pope, in consequence, gave more open aid to the Lombard States in their disaffection, and Milan rose once more in insurrection. Pope and Emperor now conducted their quarrel in a very undiplomatic style. "A beast of pride," said Frederic, "is sitting in the Apostle's chair." To which the Pope replied: "The Lombard States can not do better than break the yoke of a heathen and a rebel against God." Frederic again declared the Reichsacht against Milan,* with the threat that the town should be plundered. Crema and other towns were

* "Ambitious of restoring the splendor of the purple, Frederic invaded Lombardy, with the arts of a statesman, the valor of a soldier, and the cruelty of a tyrant."—*Gibbon.*

also invested, and the surrounding territory devastated with fire and sword. The hatred of the combatants found expression in incredible cruelties. The besiegers played ball with the heads of their slain enemies; the besieged carried their German prisoners to the ramparts, and there tore them to pieces in sight of the besiegers. Frederic ordered all the Italian hostages in his hands, among whom were a number of children, to be tied in front of one of the besieging towers or rams, under cover of which his troops approached the walls, hoping that the enemy would spare their own countrymen, but the besieged fought, if possible, with increased fury, crying: "It is glorious for children at so early an age to sacrifice their lives for their country!" Crema at length surrendered; 20,000 of the inhabitants were permitted to retire. The city was plundered and destroyed. Hadrian IV. died (1159), engaged in his last moments in the Christian act of proclaiming the ban against Frederic, and thus fanning the flames of insurrection into greater fury. In Rome, two Popes were now elected. The Imperial party elected Victor IV., the other Alexander III., that same Cardinal Roland who had so boldly declared at the Diet in Würzburg that the Pope was of course Master of the Empire. Alexander temporarily took up his residence in France, as Rome refused to receive him. France maintained Pope Alexander, and England did the same, notwithstanding the message previously sent by Henry II. to the Emperor. Frederic was now obliged to suspend the war without having taken Milan. The term of service of his vassal troops had again expired, and a pause ensued from 1159 to 1161. The chief parties in the war, however, were not idle. Frederic declared the Reichsacht against Pope Alexander, delivering his body

up to Satan, in order that his soul might be saved on the last day, while Alexander fulminated the anathema of the Church against Victor IV. and the Emperor. In the meantime, fresh German armies came pouring in over the Alps. The investment of Milan was strengthened, the environs devastated, all supplies cut off. The most frightful barbarities disgraced alike besiegers and besieged. The Milanese tortured their prisoners, tore their eyes out, and subjected them to other horrible mutilations. Frederic retorted by hanging his prisoners. Every man detected in attempting to bring supplies into the city was seized and his right hand cut off. Great conflagrations took place in Milan, destroying the few remaining provisions. Famine at length compelled a surrender. In the hope of obtaining easier terms, Milan offered to make the greatest sacrifices; to submit to the most abject humiliation, pay an immense sum of money, and surrender three hundred hostages to the Emperor. Frederic replied, by demanding absolute, unconditional surrender. Hunger compelled Milan to acquiesce. The siege had lasted two years. The ceremony of surrender now took place. The principal nobles came forth and knelt at the Emperor's feet, holding their lives and property at his mercy. Next came three hundred knights, with the keys of the gates and towers and the banners of the city. All humbly took the oath of fealty. The next day the entire population of Milan came out in one hundred divisions, barefoot, cross in hand, ropes around their necks, and ashes on their heads. The Emperor was at dinner when the procession arrived, and it was raining heavily. He left the wretched suppliants for a long time crouching in the open court, drenched and shivering, awaiting his pleasure.

At length, the Emperor made his appearance, surrounded by his great lords, and taking his place upon a lofty throne, mutely beheld the vanquished silently pass before him and lay down their banners at his feet. An immense chariot came next, bearing a sort of mast, at the top of which was displayed a cross, with the picture of the holy St. Ambrose, the patron saint of the city. This equipage paused opposite the Emperor's throne, the mast was lowered, and the patron saint appeared to bend and humble himself, asking mercy at the hands of the stern conqueror. At a word of command from Frederic, the chariot was dashed to pieces. The whole multitude uttered a cry of anguish and despair, and again begged for mercy till the spectators were moved to tears. Frederic alone remained inexorable: "*Your lives are forfeited,*" said he. "*These I will spare; but I shall take measures to prevent your ever repeating your criminal offense.*"

The proposed measures were soon announced by special decree: "Milan shall henceforth be doomed to solitude and desolation; the inhabitants are commanded to quit the town within eight days, and to build for themselves four towns, situated in four different fields, two German miles apart from each other." The Milanese heard, overwhelmed with horror; but no prayers could move the iron-hearted Barbarossa. Milan (March 26) was plundered and destroyed, with the exception of the churches, palaces, and works of art. Most active in this work of ruin were the inhabitants of the Lombard towns, formerly oppressed by their stronger rival. The agents whom Frederic, after his return to Germany, appointed to govern Lombardy in his name, exercised such brutal and fraudulent tyranny over the unfortunate people as

to cast a lasting disgrace upon his name. It is possible that the Emperor did not know, and most probable that he never sanctioned these oppressions. Still, he should have foreseen and prevented them.

Pope Victor IV. died in 1164. Those cardinals devoted to the Empire at once elected Pascal III. The Lombards, however, continued faithful to Alexander III., and the latter steadily and successfully encouraged and aided them in their rebellion. Frederic had now to learn that pride goes before a fall. He returned to Germany, to make arrangements for a new Italian campaign. A change had taken place, however, among the Romans. Alexander had been invited back to Rome, which he entered in triumph (1165). Pope Pascal had established himself at Viterbo, about forty miles from Rome, where he was protected by the Archbishop of Mayence, at the head of an Imperial army. This Bishop prayed fervently at the altar, and then repaired to the battle-field, where his stern voice resounded far and wide. Beneath his violet-colored bishop's robe gleamed the iron corselet; and, with the golden helm upon his head, and mounted on a fiery battle-steed, "he served the Lord," says a chronicler, "more in earthly than in heavenly fashion."

Fourth Italian Campaign, 1166.

In 1166, Frederic again crossed the Alps, determined to punish more severely the Lombard cities, to drive Alexander out of Rome, seat Pascal firmly in St. Peter's chair, and assert his Imperial sovereignty over Italy, both in ecclesiastical and political affairs. A universal league of the Lombard cities announced the determination to *set all upon the hazard of the die.* Frederic marched upon Rome with a large army; ruin and devastation marked

his steps. Under the repeated blows of German battle-axes, the walls of the Eternal City gave way. St. Peter's Church was wrapped in flames; the dead bodies of its defenders strewed the marble floor, and streams of blood ran over the apostle's tomb. Together, the Emperor and Pope Pascal made a solemn entrance into the city. Frederic's wife was crowned Empress. Pope Alexander, disguised as a pilgrim, fled to Benevento, at the very time when Pascal entered the Lateran. The Emperor had achieved his most brilliant victory over Lombardy and Rome. He now regarded himself as indeed master of the position, when suddenly, after a period of suffocating heat, to which the German troops were little accustomed, came a deluge of rain which produced a pestilential epidemic, so rapid and disastrous, that within a week, twenty-five thousand Germans perished. The scourge struck with the rapidity of a thunder-bolt; soldiers fell dead in the act of mounting their horses; those of their comrades who attempted to bury the corpses, fell into the graves with the dead. Hundreds of putrefying bodies were flung into the Tiber, hundreds more lay unburied in the streets, adding to the dangers of the pestilence. Two thousand of the highest princes and nobles were swept away like the common herd. It is not stated how many German soldiers, nor how many Romans, fell victims to the scourge. Those who recovered bore, to their dying day, the marks of this fatal disease. Their hair fell, never to grow again; their complexion retained a cadaverous hue. The plague was looked upon as a judgment from Heaven. The Italians cried out with God's afflicted people: "And the Lord sent an angel who cut off all the mighty men of valor." (II. Chronicles, xxxii. 21.) Frederic retired in consternation, with a hand-

ful of men, to Pavia, whence he soon found it necessary to return to Germany. His enemies, encouraged by his helpless condition, had everywhere risen in revolt, and he found the Alpine passes thoroughly guarded. He had carried away with him a number of hostages; passing through Savoy, he commanded some of these to be hung on the trees along the road, as a warning to pursuers. Notwithstanding these precautions, he barely escaped assassination. All German officers and Bishops were driven out of Italy, after their master.

A great Lombard fortress was built and called Alessandria, after Frederic's enemy, the Pope Alexander. Milan soon began to rise from its ruins, more beautiful and stronger than before. Italy formed alliances with the Greek Emperor Manuel and William IV., King of Sicily. All Italy rose in a war of liberation. Even the towns friendly to the Emperor were obliged to join the League against him. Frederic remained six years in Germany, striving to repress disorders, and to quell feuds among his nobles, particularly between Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, Rheinold of Cologne, and many others. In this attempt, he incurred the enmity of Henry the Lion, who hypocritically concealed his resentment until a good opportunity offered for taking his revenge. While engaged in governing his Empire, Frederic had, however, constantly kept in view a plan for re-asserting what he considered his Imperial right to the sovereignty of Italy. At the death of Pope Pascal III. (1168), the Imperial party elected Calixtus III., as his successor.

At the head of a splendid army, Frederic crossed Mont Cenis into Italy. Repeated attempts to take the

fortress of Alessandria by storm failed. Sickness broke out in the German camp. Frederic, nevertheless, maintained the siege for six months, but was, at length, obliged to retire with diminished forces. He now drew together all re-inforcements in his power, and believed himself prepared, by overwhelming numbers, to achieve a final victory. The two armies met at Legnano. Henry the Lion, the Emperor's most powerful German vassal, seized the opportunity to revenge himself for his supposed wrongs, and refused to bring his forces into the field. Frederic was compelled to risk the battle without this re-inforcement; and on the field of Legnano, he saw his power in Italy finally dashed to pieces. In spite of their most heroic courage, the Germans were defeated. The Emperor himself, his heavy sword raised on high, rode at the head of his army, and plunged into the thickest of the fight; but a giant, Alberto da Guissano, the leader of nine hundred chosen knights, who had sworn, if not victorious, to leave their corpses on the field, broke through the Imperial ranks. The Emperor's flag-bearer was killed. Frederic's horse was killed, and the Emperor himself hurled headlong into the midst of the fray, disappeared from view. "The Emperor is killed!" arose in a wild shriek among the German troops, and was echoed in triumph by the Lombards. The Imperial forces were either cut down on the field, or forced into the waters of the Ticino. The victorious Lombards took an immense booty, every thing belonging to the Emperor, even his shield and spear. Four days only after the battle, Frederic re-appeared in Pavia, his faithful sword in his hand, before the terrified Lombards. He immediately opened peace-negotiations with Pope

Fifth Italian Campaign, 1174.

Battle of Legnano, May 29, 1176.

Alexander III., for both Pope and Emperor were afraid of the republican spirit stirring in Lombardy. Frederic recognized Alexander as the legal head of the Church, renounced his right to the Roman crown, and to all Church property, and agreed to observe a six years' armistice. The terms of permanent peace were to be definitively settled by a great Congress in Venice, then the center of the world's commerce. The Pope now released Frederic from the ban, and the two sovereigns met at Venice on the *piazza di San Marco.* Frederic, throwing off his mantle, knelt and kissed the foot of the successor of St. Peter, upon which Alexander raised him, and reverently gave him the kiss of peace and his blessing. After the religious ceremony in the church, the Pope, dressed in his highest ecclesiastical robes and mounted upon an ambling palfrey, rode along a passage, kept open by guards, through the multitude, Frederic accompanying him on foot, and holding his stirrup. The Emperor was gradually acquiring skill in that art. Guelph historians declare that when Frederic kissed the Pope's foot, Alexander placed his foot upon the Emperor's neck, pronouncing the words: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder"; upon which Frederic answered, "I render this honor, not to thee, but to St. Peter." The German historians declare this to be without foundation; and a letter from the Pope, describing the scene, makes no mention of it. Thus ended all idea of an independent Church in Germany. The power of the Papacy was greatly increased by the issue of the contest. Frederic crossed the Alps crestfallen. What a great and mighty Emperor he might have become had he done his duty in the matter of Arnold of Brescia, and undertaken the reformation of the Church with as

much determination as he had shown in arresting the feuds in the Empire; in punishing the robber-knights; in laying the Lombard towns in ashes, and in his vain attempt to hold the Italian peninsula!

During the Emperor's absence, Henry the Lion had lorded it arbitrarily over the other nobles. Frederic declared the Reichsacht against him, deprived him of his Duchies of Saxony and Bavaria, and confiscated all his property. His territories were cut up and divided among a number of princes. But the lion-hearted Henry stood at bay. A civil war again broke out which lasted from January, 1180, till far into the year 1181. The Emperor proved too strong for his vassal. Henry's allies fell away from him. His towns surrendered one after another, and at a Diet of princes at Erfurt he appeared alone, a helpless, broken-hearted man, threw himself at Frederic's feet, and begged for mercy. The Emperor embraced him with tears, but did not restore his property. He received instead some nominal compensation, and was ordered to leave Germany for three years. He went to England (to his father-in-law, Henry II.). Here his third son William was born, from whom sprung the Guelph line of the Dukes of Brunswick, of which the present reigning families in Hanover and England are branches.

Frederic put his power and skill to good use in the conclusion of an advantageous treaty with the Lombard towns, who thereby secured their independence, though abandoning to the Emperor certain important rights.

Peace of Constance, June 25, 1183.

Alexander III. died (1181). Lucius III., his successor, was soon followed by Urban III. Frederic crossed the Alps again (1184), but this time not with an army. He

was received in Milan with acclamations of welcome. His son Henry, afterward Henry VI., was betrothed to Constantia, daughter of Roger I., King of Sicily, and aunt of the childless King William II., and thus heiress of the royal house of Normandy in Italy. At the request of the Milanese, the Emperor consented that the wedding ceremonies should take place in their city (1186). By this matrimonial alliance, the Hohenstaufens secured important rights over Italy, and became prospective heirs to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. Hence a new and deadly quarrel with the Pope. Urban suddenly died, as he was about to declare Frederic once more under the ban. At this time, news arrived in Germany that Jerusalem had been re-captured by the Infidels. Frederic, though now sixty-nine years old, resolved to lead a new crusade in person. At the head of an immense force, and after heroic struggles, he penetrated into Asia Minor; but, as hereafter more fully related, never again returned to his own country, having been drowned in the river Saleph, or Kalicadnos.

Barbarossa drowned, 1190.

Frederic had been crowned Emperor at the age of thirty-one, and reigned thirty-eight years. In person he was not above the average height, with short fair hair, curling around his forehead, fair complexion, red cheeks, and a reddish beard; beautiful teeth, finely shaped mouth, and clear blue eyes which, like those of Frederick the Great, united mildness with piercing keenness. There was always in his demeanor something noble and majestic. He was an intrepid and skillful general, merciless in battle, magnanimous in victory. He gladly listened to counsel, but reserved the sovereign right of decision. His mind dwelt

Thoughts on Barbarossa.

on the examples of his great Imperial predecessors. Charlemagne was particularly his model. His stern and remorseless doings in Italy may be explained, although they can not be justified, by the lofty duty which he supposed he had inherited, of fully carrying out the Imperial idea. To explain how he could abandon his own States and lead a crusade at so advanced an age, we must bear in mind the extraordinary religious excitement prevailing at that period, and the anti-biblical teachings of the Roman Church. Frederic could not look back on his past life without remorse. The crucifixion of Arnold, the plundering and razing of Italian towns, the hanging of hostages, the tyranny and heavy financial extortions of his brutal agents, the binding of children to battering-rams, and his own ruthless endeavors to crush the spirit of freedom in the Lombard towns, no doubt in subsequent years appeared to him in their true light. Perhaps the old man believed, as the Popes taught, that he could blot out these crimes by a journey to Jerusalem.

Frederic, like Hermann, is still celebrated in the German traditions and poetry as the ideal of a knight and Emperor. According to those authorities, he is not yet dead. "His people," says an historian, "could never realize the idea. In a cave under the Kyffhauser mountain, near Erfurt, he still sits asleep on an ivory chair beside a stone table, through which during the last seven hundred years his long red beard has grown to the ground. Crows wheel around the top of the mountain, but at last they will be driven away by an eagle. Then the great Barbarossa will rise from his slumbers, and the German Empire will resume its supreme place among nations."

Henry VI., 1190-1197. Barbarossa was succeeded by his son, Henry VI. (the Sharp or Cruel), who, to use the words of Shakespeare, was:

> "—— bloody,
> Luxurious, avaricious, false, deceitful,
> Sudden, malicious, smacking of every sin
> That has a name."

He endeavored to render the throne hereditary in the Hohenstaufen family. The reader will remember that he had married Constance, and thus acquired the right of succession to the throne of Naples and Sicily. On the death of the last Norman king, Henry crossed the Alps in order to take possession of this inheritance. The Neapolitans and Sicilians resisted his claims; for which offense he wreaked upon them the most fearful vengeance. Supported by a large army, he pretended to have discovered a great conspiracy, arrested immense numbers of peaceable citizens, caused them to be put to death with excruciating tortures; hanged, beheaded, impaled, their eyes burnt out with red-hot irons. Some were dragged through the streets, and given up to the fury of the merciless mob. Henry was in full course of perpetrating these horrors, and had succeeded in obtaining his kingdom (1197) perforce, when he suddenly died, at thirty-two years of age; some say, poisoned.

Two Emperors were now simultaneously elected; Philip of Swabia, brother of Henry VI., and only surviving son of Barbarossa, by the Ghibellines, in order that the throne might not pass away from the Hohenstaufens; and Otto IV., Duke of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, by the Guelphs.

Philip of Swabia, 1198-1208.

Otto IV., 1198-1215.

A civil war now raged for eight years between the

Guelphs and Ghibellines, during which robbery, murder, and every crime ran riot throughout the country. We are weary of repeating the words: robbery, murder, pillage, anarchy, chaos, etc., but we know not otherwise how to describe what was almost continually the state of the Empire and of all Europe.

Emperor Philip murdered by Otto von Wittelsbach, 1207.

Philip of Swabia, well acquainted with the character of Otto von Wittelsbach, had refused him his daughter's hand in marriage. Otto then requested the Emperor to give him a letter to Duke Henry I. of Silesia, whose daughter he thus hoped to obtain. Philip, as if complying with his request, gave him a sealed letter, in which, however, he warned the Duke against any alliance with the bearer. Otto, suspecting the truth, opened this letter, and, determined to kill Philip, burst into his room, sword in hand. "This is no place for a fight," said the Emperor. "But a fit one for punishing a traitor!" cried Otto, as he dealt him a fatal thrust; then rushed to the door, and mounting his horse, rode away at full speed, before avengers could be summoned. Philip's death left his opponent, Otto IV., without a rival. During nearly the whole of Otto's reign, Innocent III. sat in the pontifical chair. We must, therefore, pause for a glance at this remarkable character.

Innocent III., 1198-1216.

Innocent III. reigned eighteen years, and did much to build up Papal supremacy. His plan, carried on with inflexible determination, was to free Italy from foreign dominion, to bring her entirely under Papal rule, and to establish the supremacy of the Church, in political as well as ecclesiastical affairs of the whole world. He proclaimed that as God had set two great lights in the heavens, the greater light to rule the day, the lesser the night; so, in the fir-

mament of the universal Church, he had established two great tribunals, the greater to rule the souls of men, the smaller to administer their temporal affairs. But as the moon in her position, size, and power is the smaller, and receives her light only from the sun, so the temporal authority, comparatively insignificant, receives its light and power only from the Church. Emperors, kings, princes, all temporal rulers and magistrates, could claim no power at all which did not emanate from the Pope, before whom all earthly rulers were bound to bow in obedience as before their liege lord. In the strong hand of Innocent III., the Papal power became almost supreme. The Imperial crown was received by Otto IV. as a fief. Rome unscrupulously exercised absolute despotism, and inflicted frightful punishment upon all who attempted to resist her assumption of authority. A great net-work of Popish intrigue was cast not only over Italy and Germany, but also over the neighboring countries. Spiritual orders of every description, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, carried Papal commands to every hearth and home; an army of Legates scoured Europe, invested with extensive powers, forbidding marriages, exacting divorces, removing and bestowing crowns at pleasure, or rather at the pleasure of their ruthless master. Personally, Innocent III. practiced a severe morality, and demanded the same from others; but when the Church was becoming a whited sepulcher, filled with dead men's bones, instead of opening and cleansing it, by admitting air and light, he visited with dire vengeance all who dared to hint at the truth. He proclaimed that barbarous Crusade against the Albigenses, which nearly extirpated those industrious, virtuous, peaceful people. One shudders on reading the official report.

Imperial crown, a fief.

"We spared," said his Legate, returning from this Crusade, "neither sex, nor age, nor rank. *We have put all alike to the sword!*"* It was at this time that Innocent III. organized the Inquisition; one of the most striking excrescences which grew out upon what was still called the Church of Christ. Its office was to inquire into the people's religious belief, and to invent unheard-of tortures for all such as dared to express or intimate a doubt respecting the purity of the Church, or her unbounded power. Among other innovations, Innocent III. introduced the doctrine of Transubstantiation,† forbade the reading of the Bible without special permission from a Bishop, refused the Communion cup to laymen, issued a decree making confession compulsory upon every one; and all the while largely increased the treasury of St. Peter. Under his government, and with his co-operation, religious excitement was manifested in the most novel and incredible form,—an enthusiastic Crusade of little children, starting, in good faith, to redeem the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of the Infidels. This astonishing expedition will be described in a later chapter. Of Innocent III., Gibbon says: "He exercised a despotic command over the emperors and kings whom he raised and deposed; over the nations, whom an interdict of months, or years, deprived for the offense of their rulers, of the exercise of Christian worship. In the Council of the Lateran, he acted as the ecclesiastical, almost as the temporal, sovereign of the East and West. It was at the feet of his Legate that John of England surrendered his crown (thus acknowledging England to be a Papal fief).

* L. von Ranke. "History of the Popes."

† This doctrine will be referred to hereafter.

At his voice, two Crusades, the fourth and the fifth, were undertaken." Such was the Pope with whom Otto IV. had to do. Innocent protracted and increased the anarchy already reigning in Germany. During the civil war between Philip and Otto IV., he purposely abstained from decisively supporting either candidate. He at last crowned Otto Emperor, on condition that the latter should confirm all the previous concessions of his predecessors to the Popes, and formally renounce their claim to the right of liege-lords over Rome, with all the territories belonging to that title. Otto took the required oath, and was crowned Emperor. On returning to Germany, he recklessly broke his engagements. He had now against him, not only the Hohenstaufen party, but also the Pope, who immediately placed him under the ban. He was deposed by the Electors, who chose Frederic II. of Hohenstaufen, a youth of twenty, son of Henry VI., and grandson of Barbarossa. The election was confirmed by the Pope. Otto, realizing the uselessness of resistance, withdrew from the political scene, and lived in retirement in his Duchy of Brunswick until the year 1218. Frederic was immediately crowned King of Germany at Aix-la-Chapelle. He reigned thirty-five years. During this period, the following Popes successively passed across the stage:

Otto IV. crowned, 1209.

Frederic II. Hohenstaufen, 1214-1250.

1216. Honorius III.

1227. Gregory IX.

1241. Celestine.

1243. Innocent IV.; the last, most inveterate and successful enemy of the Emperor.

Frederic was not only King of Germany, but King of Naples and Sicily, by right of his father, Henry VI.,

and his mother, Constantia of Sicily. Having appointed his son Henry, Viceroy of Germany, Frederic returned to Italy, in order to unite Germany and Italy into one hereditary Empire under his rule. He was crowned Emperor in Rome. At the request of Pope Honorius, he solemnly promised, but without naming any fixed time, to lead a Crusade to the Holy Land. As Honorius and, after him, Gregory IX., had no idea of again surrendering Italy as a fief to the Emperor, they determined to get rid of Frederic, who delayed, from year to year, the organization of the promised Crusade. It was insisted that he should undertake it without further delay.

Crowned at Rome, 1220.

At last, the Crusaders started; but were driven back by a pestilential disease which broke out in their fleet. Pope Gregory IX. declared Frederic under the ban, whereupon the Emperor undertook a new Crusade, now opposed by Gregory, on the ground that he had not yet been released from the ban. But Frederic conducted this Crusade with brilliant success, concluded with the Turks a ten years' peace, by which the Holy places of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth were delivered into his hands. In the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Frederic was crowned King of Jerusalem. Then he hastened back to Italy, humbled his enemies, and compelled the Pope to release him from the ban. On his return to Germany, heavy misfortunes awaited him. The Lombard cities and the Pope once more formed a League against his authority. His son Henry, whom he had appointed Viceroy of Germany, turned traitor, and supported the Lombard towns in their rebellion against his father. He was pardoned, rebelled again, was then con-

Frederic starts on a Crusade, 1227.

Frederic undertakes a new Crusade, 1228.

demned to imprisonment for life, and died in the seventh year of his confinement. Frederic appointed his son Conrad viceroy in Henry's place. His illegitimate son, Enzio, was appointed King of Naples. Innocent IV. now laid Frederic again under the ban, deposed him from the throne, released his subjects from their oath of obedience, and proclaimed another King, Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, who, dying almost immediately, was succeeded by William of Holland. Frederic crossed again into Italy. The Pope's ban lay more and more heavily upon him. His subjects thought it their religious duty to refuse him obedience. The Popes fanned the flame of discord, both in Italy and Germany. As the Hohenstaufens still maintained themselves against the Pope, a plot was organized by the Bishops to murder the next heir to the throne, Frederic's son Conrad. The Bishop of Regensburg (Ratisbon) invited Conrad to that city, for the purpose of a friendly consultation. Conrad was at first accompanied by four companions. The party entered the cloister of St. Emmerau, intending to stay over-night. Fortunately for Conrad, at a later hour, a fifth comrade joined his followers. In the middle of the night, while the Bishop waited at the city-gates to learn of his victim's fate, the band of assassins broke into the cloister. Believing the whole party to consist only of five, they bound three in chains, slew two, mistaking one of the latter for the Emperor, and hastened to apprise the Bishop of the successful issue of their enterprise. Conrad, however, was neither among the slain nor the prisoners. He had succeeded in concealing himself in a dark corner, and escaped his murderers. Shortly after this criminal

Henry Raspe, 1246.

William of Holland, anti-king, 1247.

attempt, Frederic II. died, broken-hearted, a victim to the relentless persecution of the Popes. Blow after blow had fallen upon him. One of his dearest friends had sent him his physician, with private orders to administer poison instead of medicine, and his son Enzio had been defeated in Italy, taken prisoner and confined in chains. Frederic resembled Barbarossa, his grandfather, in energy, courage, and steady defiance of Popedom. He is said to have been the monarch who threw a cup into the sea, as related by Schiller in his ballad "The Diver."

Death of Frederic II., 1250.

Conrad IV. was a son of Frederic II. and a great-grandson of Barbarossa. Pope Innocent IV. pursued him during his whole reign. He fought, however, successfully in Italy, took the City of Naples, and to the great indignation of the Guelph party, caused a bridle to be placed in the mouth of the bronze horse which, as a symbol of the city, stood on a high pedestal in the market-place.

Conrad IV., 1250-1254.

Conrad died (1254), leaving a son, two years old, Conradin (or little Conrad). Had the throne been hereditary, Conradin would have been the legitimate heir to it. But at the time of Conrad's death, the Empire had fallen into a worse state of chaos than ever before. William of Holland was the Pope's candidate; he could scarcely be expected to do much for Germany. His administration only added to the already prevailing anarchy. He failed in his attempts at securing the possession of Aix-la-Chapelle, and even in obtaining the German crown. By means of considerable bribes, some of the Bishops were persuaded to perform the ceremony with another crown, prepared for the occasion. In a war against the Frisians, having vent-

William of Holland, 1254-1256.

ured too far alone in advance of his guard, while crossing a stream, his horse fell through the ice, and his heavy armor impeding his movements, he was taken prisoner. He offered an immense ransom, but was instantly slain. Thus the Empire was left without an Emperor; the heir to the throne, an infant; the Pope and the Guelph party striving for the total destruction of the Hohenstaufens; anarchy and robber-knights reigning supreme.

The Great Interregnum, 1254-1274.

The Great Interregnum, as this time is called, extended over a period of about twenty years, during which Germany resembled a ship tossed in a storm, without pilot, rudder, or chart. The German princes were afraid of being raised to the throne; the country was hurried forward to ever-increasing horrors and dangers. The great Dukes basely determined to sell the Empire to the highest bidder, whether German or foreigner. Thus the German Empire, like its predecessor, the old Roman Empire, was put up at auction. The princes favored the accession of a foreigner, who would probably not reside in his States. This absenteeism would leave them free to carry on their private feuds with greater impunity;—the robber-knights would rule supreme in their strongholds, and each would have a better chance to conquer a throne for himself. These noblemen demanded high prices for their votes. At the head of this ring were the German Bishops. It must not be forgotten that the rightful heir to the Imperial throne was still living. The intrigues resulted in the election of *two* foreigners, instead of one. Some of the Bishops chose Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England; the others elected Alfonso X., King of Castile. Richard hastened to come over from

Richard of Cornwall

Alfonso X. of Castile.

England, and was crowned King of Germany at Aix-la-Chapelle, but remained a mere lay-figure in the contest. Alfonso never came to Germany at all. Out of this chaos, nevertheless, arose a principle of order. The very excess of evil suggested a partial remedy. The danger to life and property was so urgent, that it induced the larger German cities to form various Leagues for mutual protection. The most important of these, formed by the Rhine cities, grew up into a sort of State within a State. The Hanseatic League, so called from *Hansa*, an old German word, signifying *union* or *league*, was also formed at this time. All the rivers and great thoroughfares were insecure, owing to baronial feuds; and particularly to the depredations of robber-knights. Hamburg and Lubeck raised a military force at their own expense, to guard their merchant-boats and convoys of merchandise. Other towns joined this League, to the number of fifty or sixty, and it became very powerful. One important consequence of the interregnum was, that Italy broke free from the Empire. Urban IV. seized the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily as a Papal fief, and bestowed it upon Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., King of France, thus bringing the Bourbons into Italy. Charles of Anjou, King of Naples, was a tyrant, cruel enough to drive to despair a people far less excitable than the Italians. Although he favored the town of Naples above the rest of his kingdom, he made himself thoroughly hated. He committed the Island of Sicily to the administration of a ruffian, who placed the whole land under the rule of a profligate soldiery. The friends of young Conradin (who had now reached the age of sixteen) took advantage of the growing unpopularity of Charles, and persuaded the youth to place himself at the

head of his party, cross over into Italy, and strive to regain his throne. On crossing the Alps, he was enthusiastically received by the Ghibelline party, and his army strengthened by large re-inforcements. After a few successful skirmishes, he encountered, at Tagliacozza, the main army of Charles of Anjou. Conradin was defeated and taken prisoner. His youth and courage moved several monarchs to intercede in his behalf, but Charles was too blood-thirsty a despot to relinquish his prey. He caused the young prince to be publicly beheaded in one of the squares in Naples, and enjoyed the pleasure of personally witnessing the execution. Conradin had spent his short life with his mother in a beautiful castle, among the mountains of Bavaria. On mounting the scaffold, he exclaimed: "Oh, my mother! How grieved thou wilt be to learn thy son's fate!" Those Italians who had manifested sympathy for Conradin were, as far as Charles' power extended, either hanged or beheaded. The remaining members of the Hohenstaufen family perished in dungeons. Their confiscated estates were divided among Guelph noblemen. Thus ended the last heir, in a direct line, of the Hohenstaufen Emperors. Conradin's tragic fate was a triumph of the Papacy over the Empire, after a struggle of about two hundred years.

Conradin, last of the Hohenstaufens.

Battle of Tagliacozza, 1268.

The Island of Sicily, on this occasion, suffered severely from Charles and his myrmidons. The Sicilians belonged to the Ghibelline party, and beheld with indignation, the Hohenstaufens robbed, insulted, and hunted out of their island. At first, their indignation was of no avail: what could they do, helplessly curbed under the

Island of Sicily during the reign of Charles of Anjou, 1266-1282.

unrelenting hand of a foreign soldiery? But soon the way opened for a terrible reckoning. Conradin's death had left a deep impression of horror in Italian hearts. Curses rose from every part of the kingdom against the ferocious conqueror. Urban's successor, Pope Clement IV., warned Charles against impending danger; but the haughty prince only drew the reins tighter, and all through Sicily, impudent insults and galling acts of oppression were heaped by his officers on the heads of the unoffending people.

Sicilian Vespers, March 31, 1282.

Fourteen years had rolled away since Conradin's death. Charles had appointed a representative in Sicily, who was the object of universal execration. The French tax-gatherers used to proceed to the collection of taxes with such gentle words as these: "Come forth, you heretics; come forth, and pay your taxes." Even Guelph historians describe with what cruelty the French military treated the men, and with what insolence they insulted the women and young maidens. A conspiracy, which had long been brewing, at length broke out; its object was to massacre all the French in Sicily and shake off the French rule. It is said, some of the sovereigns of that period were privy to the design, and approved of it. The French viceroy had given orders for a general disarmament of all classes. On the day in which the order was published, the inhabitants of Palermo were repairing to the Church of Santo Spirito, for vespers. A young Italian girl, of high rank and purest life, betrothed to a nobleman, and accompanied by her affianced, was entering the church with the rest. She was rudely stopped by a French officer, who declared she had a dagger secreted in her possession. She assured him that it was not so; but he,

nevertheless, proceeded to search her person. Her companion killed him on the spot. Instantly, the cry resounded through the church-aisles: "Down with the French! Death to our oppressors!" In a few moments, two hundred French—men, women, and children—were slaughtered in the church and around it. The news flew through the town. The people rose with one accord. Every house was broken into; every cellar, garret, hole and corner examined, and death, without mercy, dealt to every Frenchman. Some fled to the cloisters, some to the altar, but they were pursued to their places of refuge, and slain. Two thousand victims lay dead in the streets of Palermo. This was not all; the whole Island of Sicily now rose to complete the great massacre. "Down with the French! Death to the French!" was heard from shore to shore. The number massacred on the entire island is given as twenty-four thousand. A single feature relieves the horror of these scenes. A Frenchman, the Abbé Deporcelet, had won, by a life of Christian purity and charity, the affection of the Italians. He passed through the crowd of blood-dripping slaughterers, among the dead bodies of his countrymen, and not a hand was raised against him. He may be regarded as an illustration of the power of Christianity, when truly understood and practiced.

The island now proclaimed a new government, sent deputies to Spain, and invited Peter of Aragon, as a relative of Conradin and heir to his estates, to ascend the throne. He soon arrived with a stately fleet, and was crowned King of Sicily. Charles of Anjou endeavored to seize the island again, but in vain. His kingdom was thenceforth limited to the territory of Naples. Charles is described as a dark, scowling, repulsive looking ruffian,

with an olive complexion; large, hooked nose, fierce, cruel eyes, his brow constantly knit into a threatening frown. He had but one ruling, absorbing, overwhelming thought: ambition.

Rudolph of Hapsburg, 1273-1291.

The intolerable state of society which marked the interregnum compelled the Germans to look around for a man to put an end to it. They had made the discovery, which one of these days will have to be made again, that a strong government is better than no government at all; that the principle of authority can not be destroyed without fatal consequences. Pope Gregory X. had also made a discovery; that, in destroying the Hohenstaufens and wrecking the German Empire, he had only succeeded in exposing the Papacy to greater dangers. He had called the Bourbons into Italy as his allies, but Charles of Anjou and his ruthless bands proved more formidable enemies than the Hohenstaufens had ever been. They were endeavoring to bring all Italy, including the Apostolic See, within their dominion; and the King of France, Philip III. (1270–1285), was intriguing to place the German crown on his own head. Richard of Cornwall (1272), after a feeble reign of fifteen years, had died, but Alfonso of Castile, although at a distance, still held to the shadowy crown.* Gregory, as the Popes often did in their foreign policy, wheeled suddenly around, and really endeavored to save the Empire from total destruction. He urged the German princes to elect a strong German King; and in obedience to the suggestion, they elected Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg, head of a noble German family, a

* A number of princes, from Frederic II. to Rudolph of Hapsburg, claiming the throne by right or partial election, are not regarded by German historians as Emperors, but as anti-Emperors. Among these are the Landgrave Henry Raspe, William of Holland, Richard of Cornwall, and Alfonso X. of Castile.

descendant of Charlemagne, whose estates lay in the south-western part of the Empire, now Switzerland. The ruins of Hapsburg Castle may still be seen, in the Canton Aargau. On learning his election, Rudolph appeared at Frankfort, and many nobles assembled in the cathedral to tender him the oath of fealty. The assembly filled the church, when it was discovered that the Imperial insignia, the scepter and the sword of Charlemagne, had not been brought to Frankfort. Rudolph seized a cross, kissed it, and said: "*This sign, in which the whole world has been redeemed, I may well use instead of a scepter!*" His coronation took place a few days afterward, at Aix-la-Chapelle. It was hailed by all the great vassals, with a single exception. Ottocar, King of Bohemia, himself aspired to the crown. His kingdom extended from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and included a part of Hungary and the Duchies of Austria and Styria, with Carinthia and Carniola, now provinces of Austria. He was as brave, ambitious, and haughty as he was powerful, and so confident were his party of his success, at the time of Rudolph's election, that the Bishop of Seckau had dispatched messengers to Ottocar, announcing that he had been actually elected. It is not strange that Ottocar did not receive very meekly the subsequent and more accurate information. Rudolph immediately prepared to meet the dangers which lay in his path. He made peace with the Pope, solemnly and forever renouncing all the rights which the Hohenstaufens had claimed in Italy, including their pretensions to the throne of Sicily. He agreed to fulfill all the promises made by Frederic II. to Innocent III. He has been blamed for his Italian policy, but there appear more reasons in favor of his course than against it.

Rudolph renounces his claims on Italy, 1273.

The constant attempts of the German Emperors to retain Italy in the Empire had weakened both countries. Rudolph was not in a position to send armies over the Alps. He required all his resources for the coming war against Ottocar. His mission was to quell disorders in his own dominions; to arrest feuds; to deal with the robber-knights who, of course, had re-appeared during the interregnum; to bestow upon his land the long-desired blessing of peace; and, last but not least, to lay solid foundations for the future greatness of the house of Hapsburg. The Italian wars of the Hohenstaufens, which had lasted two hundred years, lay before him as an instructive lesson, and he determined to make peace with the Holy See. "I see the footsteps," said he, "of many who went into the lion's den, but of none who came out of it."* It was this peace with the Pope which, no doubt, enabled him successfully to meet the dangers that threatened him. In return for his concessions, the Pope hailed him Roman Emperor, and appointed a future day for his coronation; commanded Alfonso of Castile to renounce the German throne, and agreed to support Rudolph in his war against Bohemia. Rudolph now called a great Diet (Reichstag) at Augsburg, where the Bishop of Seckau presented himself as embassador from King Ottocar. It was hoped that he came with a submissive message; but instead, he brought a warlike and insolent protest from the Bohemian king against the election of an insignificant, petty nobleman to the Empire. His speech would have been cut short by a death-blow had not Rudolph himself interposed. The ban of the Church and of the Empire were launched

* Rudolph said another good thing: "I have often regretted actions done in anger, but never have I repented what I did in meekness and mercy."

against Ottocar, and worked disastrously upon his interests. His allies forsook him. At last, he accepted a peace (1276), on the conditions proposed by Rudolph; surrendered, among other territories, the Duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola (the chief provinces of the modern Austrian Empire). He was permitted to retain Bohemia and Moravia, as a feudatory of the Emperor. He appeared in the German camp to take the oath of fealty, arrayed in complete armor, blazing with jewels and gold, as if to dazzle his enemies. Rudolph, clad in a simple gray mantle, without any mark of distinction or attempt at display, received him with friendly courtesy. The Emperor had, nevertheless, commanded his most valiant warriors, attired in their heavy armor, to be ranged in two rows, between which the conquered sovereign, with his jewels and gold, was obliged to pass, that he might be inspired with due respect for the "*iron*" of the Germans. The story goes that when King Ottocar went home to his wife, he received from her less courtesy than had been shown by Rudolph: "*My lord and husband*," said the lady, "*reminds me of the mule, who, when the wolf is at a distance, loudly boasts of the bloody vengeance he will wreak; but when the wolf comes in sight, crouches meekly before him and suffers himself to be devoured. I am a woman, but had I been in your place, Rudolph should not have had time to assemble his forces. I should have swept down upon him like an eagle, and he would at this moment be a prisoner at my feet. But it is now too late: Lost is lost.*" Whether at the energetic queen's instigation, or because of some irregularity in the drawing up of the treaty, the war soon broke out again. Ottocar determined to attack

the wolf, at the risk of his life and crown. Collecting his whole force, he led a large army to the plain, called the Marchfeld, in Lower Austria, between the Danube and the March. Rudolph, with his steel-clad warriors, here attacked the Bohemians. The word "Christ!" was adopted as his battle-cry. The Bohemians chose the word "Praga!" Ottocar was easily distinguishable at the head of his lieutenants, while Rudolph fought only as a simple knight. The struggle was long; the carnage great, and victory at first inclined toward the Bohemians. Rudolph's horse was killed, and he himself precipitated to the ground, in the midst of his enemies. He was rescued, and the Bohemian troops at last gave way before him. Ottocar, his horse killed, deserted by his troops, streaming with blood from many wounds, and still fighting with the fury of despair, was taken prisoner by the Germans, humanely treated, relieved of his armor, and, in consideration of his exhausted condition, invited to sit down; but while thus resting, a crowd of Austrians, whose relatives Ottocar had caused to be executed, surrounded their enemy, now defenseless in their power, drew their daggers, and with one common accord rushed upon him, and put an end to his life. Rudolph could now have entered Italy with a strong power had he been so disposed. But although he had once said, "*With four thousand German knights and forty thousand infantry, I could march through the world and be victorious in every battle*," he honorably maintained a policy of peace, according to his promise to Gregory X., whose successor, Nicolas III. (1277), now occupied the Papal chair. Instead of crossing the Alps, to burn the Lombard cities and bring to the scaffold his Neapolitan enemies, he wisely applied himself to the internal affairs of his own

kingdom. Notwithstanding all his previous laws, the nobles were still engaged in savage fights, and the robber-knights persisted in their atrocities, laughing at the Emperor and his threats. Rudolph was now strong enough to enforce his laws. He made each feud a criminal act, and showed that he had not only the will but the power to punish. He proclaimed a land peace throughout the land, and every great noble found it his interest to respect it. The robber-knights were next sternly called to account. These incorrigible heroes, intrenched behind draw-bridges and ramparts, still led the drunken, rollicking life of gentlemen *banditti*. Rudolph gathered a sufficient force, and suddenly attacked them in their strongholds. Seventy castles were razed to the ground, and a prohibition published against rebuilding them, on penalty of death. The principal knights were seized and promptly executed. Twenty-nine, belonging to illustrious families, died in one year on the gallows. One of these noblemen, condemned to be hanged, was of very high rank, and distinguished persons petitioned that his life might be spared, or at least that, as a nobleman, he might die a less ignominious death. Rudolph remained inexorable, and the gentleman was hanged. "*He is no nobleman*," said Rudolph; "*the true nobleman honors virtue, loves justice, injures no one, robs no one, practices honor, and defends the helpless.*"

While Rudolph smote oppressors with so heavy a hand, he sought every opportunity to administer justice to the oppressed. He often himself sat as a judge in the courts, giving attention to the poorest pleaders. A man once represented that he had deposited a sum of money with a citizen of Erfurt, who had received it in presence of his own wife. Both man and wife had denied having

received the sum. Rudolph having examined the husband apart from the wife, commanded him to sit down at the table, and write the following note under his dictation: "*My dear wife, I am in trouble. Send me instantly by the bearer the exact sum which — so-and-so — deposited with us last week.*" The letter, duly signed and sealed, was committed to a messenger, who soon returned with the exact sum indicated by the accused.

Rudolph did not receive the Roman crown which Gregory had promised him. His plan to make the House of Hapsburg supreme in Germany at that time, and the crown hereditary in his family, only partially succeeded; and notwithstanding his almost absolute power, he was unable to secure the election of his son Albert as his successor. In full possession of his faculties, he tranquilly passed away, at the age of seventy-three, after a most noble reign of eighteen years. He was tall, slender, and pale, very temperate and unpretending. He was even suspected of mending his own clothes. The German people still reverence and love him as the ideal of a fair-minded, upright, noble Emperor. We are struck with the fact that, in those dreadful times, grand and beautiful characters occasionally appeared in the Papal chair, on the throne, in the cloister, in the camp.

Death of Rudolph of Hapsburg, 1291.

Rudolph, although not irreproachable in private life, was superior to his contemporaries. He restored peace and order to Germany. In fact, after the long Interregnum, he refounded the Empire. He laid the great corner-stone of the Hapsburg house, without sacrificing the interests of the Imperial throne. He was one of the few sovereigns who governed despotically without in-

justice, and mercifully without weakness; in whom insolent oppression found a stern enemy, and helpless innocence a powerful friend.

He had been placed on the throne by the influence, not only of three Archbishops (thus by the Church), but also by *Frederic of Hohenzollern.*

CHAPTER V.

THE CRUSADES.—ECCLESIASTICAL MILITARY ORDERS.

THE remarkable movements, seven or eight in number, called the Crusades, began about two hundred years before Rudolph of Hapsburg, when Henry IV. was Emperor and Urban II., Pope. They constitute the principal features of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were ineffectual attempts made by Europe to rescue the City of Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens and Turks. A general account of the more important of these movements will be sufficient for our purpose. After its destruction by Titus, the City of Jerusalem had been restored by Emperor Hadrian as a Roman colony, 136 A.D. The remains of the Holy places, which were then still recognizable, were purposely polluted with monuments of idolatry, and a chapel dedicated to Venus was built on the spot where, after death, the body of Jesus was laid. Jerusalem became a Christian city (323), under Constantine the Great, who, with his mother Helena, endeavored to discover and redeem the Holy places. He also built a church over the Holy Sepulcher. The city was taken by the Persians (614), who slew ninety thousand of the Roman inhabitants. It was, with the whole of Palestine, conquered by the Arabs, or Saracens, in the seventh century. During these various changes, Christians were permitted to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and, as we

Jerusalem.

have seen, were received by the Arabs, particularly under Haroun al Raschid, with friendly hospitality. In the eleventh century, the Turks took Palestine from the Saracens, and thenceforth Christian pilgrims were cruelly treated, robbed, murdered, or borne away into slavery.

Peter of Amiens, or Peter the Hermit, 1094.

Peter the Hermit, a monk of Amiens, who went to Jerusalem with other pilgrims, in 1093, was himself insulted and maltreated; and, indignant at the wrongs of his Christian brethren, he determined to make the facts known to the Christian world. The Patriarch of Jerusalem provided him with dispatches authenticating his reports. Peter reached Rome, and was favorably received by Urban II., then engaged in his struggle with Henry IV. Gregory VII. had previously started the idea of a Crusade. The Greek Emperor Alexis, in the beginning, favored it. Urban immediately sent Peter into France, with letters to the nobles and bishops. He was everywhere received as a divine messenger. Pale, emaciated, holding up a crucifix in his hand, barefoot, clothed in his monk's frock, and riding upon an ass, he traversed Italy, crossed the Alps, and penetrated into France. The wild enthusiasm of the multitude increased as he advanced, and a universal cry went forth for a general Crusade. Those who could not touch the hem of his garment rejoiced to secure even a hair from the beast he rode. Urban now called a great ecclesiastical assembly at Clermont, in France. Princes, bishops, prelates, monks, laymen, rich and poor, came in such crowds that every house, even in the neighboring towns and villages, was occupied, and many persons were obliged to spend the night in the open air. Urban himself addressed the multitude, and

declared that Heaven commanded a Crusade to rescue the Holy City, and avenge the barbarities inflicted upon the Christians. To each Crusader, he blasphemously promised, in God's name, forgiveness of his sins and everlasting life. They who should die while taking part in the holy Crusade, should be counted among the blessed martyrs. Debtors were released from interest on their debts, and vassals, from obligations to their lords. Immense numbers instantly prepared for the Crusade, attaching a cross of red cloth to their right shoulder. An epidemic now broke out. It was represented as a judgment of God, on account of the delay. The excitement was increased by the wildest reports. Charlemagne had risen from the dead, and was about to lead the Crusade in person; a shower of red-hot stones had fallen; a broad, fiery road had appeared in the heavens, leading toward the East, thronged with contending armies, half-hidden in bloody clouds. A comet of unusual brilliancy also appeared. Hundreds of thousands, generally of the lower classes, rushed forward, without plan or preparation, to join in the Holy War. The excited masses consisted, chiefly, of adventurers from France, Flanders, Spain, and Italy; the calmer and more prudent Germans were in the minority. This heterogeneous army, amounting to between two and three hundred thousand, advanced in separate corps, of forty to fifty thousand each, ruffianly mobs of criminals, plunderers, shiftless idlers, and beggars. These tumultuous and lawless herds had no other profession than war and rapine. Before they passed the frontier of the Empire, they had massacred twelve thousand Jews. They advanced into Hungary and Bulgaria, but before long *all perished* by hunger, pestilence, or the sword, without making a conquest, or even seeing the Holy

Land. The attempt of this turbulent crowd is not called a Crusade.

First Crusade, Godfrey de Bouillon, 1096-1099.

The *first Crusade* was led by Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Brabant, a descendant in the female line of Charlemagne, who may be called either a German or a French knight. He was elected by his colleagues commander-in-chief of this army. He started in August, 1096, at the head of eighty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry; but by the time he reached Constantinople, the crowds flocking to his banner raised the number to six hundred thousand. Among the other leaders were Godfrey's two brothers, Baldwin and Eustace; Robert, Duke of Normandy, brother of the reigning King of England; Robert, Count of Flanders; Hugo of Vermandois, brother of King Philip of France; Stephen, Count of Blois; and Raymond, Count of Toulouse. These French knights were joined by Bohemond of Tarentum, son of Robert Guiscard, founder of the kingdom of Naples, and his nephew Tancred: a noble and stately staff of commanders for this immense and continually increasing host.

The way to Jerusalem lay through Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, the Byzantine Empire, to Constantinople; thence across the Peninsula of Asia Minor, through the Mohammedan territories and cities, Nice, Doryleum, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium and Antioch in Syria, etc., to Jerusalem, in all, a journey of about two thousand miles.

Byzantine Empire.

The Eastern, Byzantine, or Greek Empire, at that time reached from the Tigris to the Adriatic, including what we now call Greece, and a considerable part of Turkey and Egypt. Its inhabitants had adopted the language and manners of

Greece. An able and good monarch, Alexis I. or Comnenus, occupied the throne.*

At the outset of the Crusades, the Mohammedans, although driven back from all Europe except Spain, were still masters of Arabia, Persia, the greater portion of Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt. They had thus taken possession of most of the Eastern Roman provinces, and there established various Mohammedan dynasties. A Crusade to Jerusalem, even without the risk of encountering enemies on the way, must still have proved a fatiguing and perilous undertaking for any army. Mere natural obstacles presented great difficulties and dangers. But the bravest crusaders might well have been discouraged by the immense numbers who prepared to oppose their advance. "How many men can you furnish?" asked a Turkish prince of one of his chiefs. "Send this arrow, and fifty thousand of your servants will answer." —"Should I require more?"—"A second arrow will summon one hundred thousand."—"Should that not be enough?"—"Send a bow, and two hundred thousand will respond." Europe had not stopped to consider the overwhelming numbers which Asia could raise, nor the almost superhuman genius of the Mohammedans for war.

As Godfrey approached the Greek territory, he found

* *How the Greek Empire came to an end.*—In 1453, a century after the close of the Crusades, the fleet of Sultan Mohammed II. approached Constantinople, bearing an army of four hundred thousand men. The harbor being protected by chains, too heavy to be broken asunder, the Sultan employed this large force of soldiers in drawing up the ships on land, placing them on rollers, and thus had them carried ten miles across land, and launched again into the inner gulf. After a siege of fifty-three days and murderous fighting on both sides, the Turks stormed the city and gave it up to pillage. The inhabitants were sold into slavery. The last Emperor, Constantine, was left dead on the battle-field. By this event, the Eastern Roman Empire was, in its turn, crushed out. It is worthy of remark that the Popes became undisputed masters of the Roman city about the same time when the Turks seized Constantinople, and the last relic of the *old* Roman Empire thus disappeared from the face of the earth.

that Alexis had grown alarmed at the great numbers of the Crusaders. He, however, consented to the passage of the six hundred thousand warriors, on condition that they should take the oath of fealty to him. This was done, and the army passed over into Asia Minor.

Nice taken, May-June, 1097.

The first obstacle which barred their way in Asia was Nice, capital of Iconium or Roum, the territory of the Sultan Soliman. Here, 325 A.D., Constantine had held the first Ecumenical Council. Nice was strongly fortified, with lofty, solid walls, and three hundred and seventy towers; the Crusaders besieged it for two months, and were quite sure of taking it, but the Moslems had conceived a just fear of a merciless universal massacre and successfully avoided it by a treaty with Alexis. "The Crusaders," says Gibbon, "thirsting for blood and plunder, were about to storm the city, when the Imperial banner was suddenly hoisted upon the citadel. The Emperor had secretly negotiated with the Turks, and the town was surrendered to him." Nice is to-day an insignificant village of about two hundred houses. But stately ruins, an ancient aqueduct, and the wreck of massive walls and towers, recall the days of Alexis and Godfrey, as well as of Constantine and Athanasius.

Battle of Doryleum. July 4, 1097.

Compelled to submit, the Crusaders pursued their journey toward Jerusalem, guided by one of Alexis' generals, whom they, nevertheless, suspected of a secret connivance with the enemy. Heavy trials awaited them on their journey. They advanced in two separate divisions. One of these, as it approached Doryleum, was attacked by one hundred and fifty thousand Turks. Unaccustomed to the climate, and panting beneath their heavy and heated armor, the

Germans were unable to stand the fiery charge. Their ranks were already beginning to give way, when Godfrey, at the head of the second division, rushed to their rescue. The battle was long and furious, but the broad swords and cross-bows of the Crusaders proved too much for the light sabers and javelins of their opponents. The enemy gave way and permitted them to pass, but thousands of Christians were left dead upon the field. The Peninsula of Asia Minor is about seven hundred miles long by four hundred broad, and the invading army had to cross this region diagonally before reaching Antioch, the capital of Syria. The fatigues and dangers of the expedition went on increasing. Now they crossed deserts, where no draught of water was attainable; now they halted in woods or valleys, where the cool waters of mountain streams, too freely indulged in, offered still greater dangers in the unusually hot season. They had to climb the almost inaccessible sides of the Taurus mountains, and to scale, what appeared, overhanging precipices. Amid these troubles, they began to quarrel with each other. Even Godfrey and his brother Baldwin had such a disagreement, that Baldwin separated from the army, and led his forces to the town of Edessa, on the Euphrates, where he founded the principality of that name, held fifty years by the Christians.

Edessa, 1097.

Godfrey and his army devoted seven months to the siege of Antioch and its immense fortifications; the city was at last taken, but not until pestilence, hunger, and thirst had sadly diminished the number of Christian combatants. Contentions among themselves rendered the Crusaders' position still more distressing. Scarcely had they entered the gates of the long-coveted city, when they were, in

Siege of Antioch, Oct. 21, 1097-June 3, 1098.

their turn, besieged by the Sultan Kerboga, with an army of two hundred thousand Turks, and would, no doubt, have been hopelessly destroyed but for an unforeseen and, apparently, trifling incident.

A priest announced that it had been revealed to him in a vision, that the spear which had pierced the Saviour's side was lying concealed in one of the city churches, close by the altar, and that this weapon was to lead the Christians to victory. The spear was searched for, and found. The besieged, although reduced to mere shadows by privations, were inflamed with such irresistible zeal at this miraculous manifestation of heavenly approval, that they made a sudden and successful sally, chanting psalms, and sounding trumpets. The holy spear was borne aloft in their midst. The besiegers were attacked with such fury that the whole Turkish army was routed, and Kerboga himself joined in the flight. Immense numbers of Turks were slain. But the sixty thousand mounted knights of the Crusaders had dwindled to two thousand, of whom only two hundred were fit for service. Bohemund received the Principality of Antioch as a reward for his valor on that day.

Storming of Jerusalem, June-July, 1099.

At length, passing by Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 13), after undergoing great fatigue and dangers, the Crusaders reached a height from which they caught a full view of Jerusalem. It was a scorching day in June. They had been three years on their journey. Tears of joy burst from their eyes; they fell upon their knees and offered up prayers and hymns of praise. But their joyful emotions soon gave way to less agreeable considerations. Of the six hundred thousand warriors who had left Europe only twenty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cav-

alry reached the gates of the Holy City. With this slender force, without machines of war, provisions or ammunition, they were to attack a superior army, intrenched behind almost impregnable defenses. The city had been held four hundred years by the Mohammedans. It was now defended by forty thousand Turks, twenty thousand Arabs, and other combatants. Added to the Turkish inhabitants, were a number of Jews in Jerusalem. The siege lasted forty days. The sufferings of the besiegers from hunger, heat, and the impossibility of obtaining water, were fearful. At last, on Friday, July 7, 1099, the city was taken after a general storming, which lasted two whole days. Godfrey and Tancred were the first to plant their banners on its walls. The victors passed into the city with shouts of: "*Dieu le veut! Dieu le veut!*" (God commands it! God wills it!) The streets became the scene of a ferocious combat, in which nearly all the Saracens were slain. The slaughtering of the infidels was deemed a holy duty. Neither age nor sex were spared. The Jews were burned in their synagogues. The blood flowed in gurgling streams through the streets. Corpses, dissevered heads, mutilated limbs, lay about in ghastly heaps. The horrors of this massacre beggar description. A pestilential disease was produced by the accumulation of dead bodies. The few who had escaped massacre were held in slavery. Thus Jerusalem became once more a *Christian* city. Only Godfrey and Tancred kept their hands clean from this bloody work.

Jerusalem taken by the Crusaders, July 7, 1099.

Godfrey was immediately elected King of Jerusalem; he accepted the office, but not the title. "I will never wear a kingly crown," he said, "in the city where my Saviour wore a crown of thorns."

Godfrey, King of Jerusalem.

He assumed the title of *Defender of the Holy Sepulcher.* The new Kingdom of Jerusalem, in its greatest extent, consisted of the southern half of Palestine, including Jerusalem, the somewhat remote principality of Edessa, the principalities of Antioch in Syria, and Tripolis (a sea-port town in Syria, about forty miles from Beyrout), the latter bestowed upon Tancred. The sea-ports of Cæsarea, St. Jean d'Acre, Beyrout, Sidon, and Tyre. These were feudal states held under Godfrey; but Godfrey was required to receive the investiture of his office from a Bishop, acting in the Pope's name. All the conquests of the Crusaders were to be held as fiefs under the Roman Pontiff. Godfrey's throne was not firmly seated. It was endangered, not only by the Mohammedan populations which were preparing for its overthrow, but by the violent dissensions which again broke out among the Crusaders themselves. They were sometimes very near drawing swords against each other. Most of the princes returned to Europe. Tancred alone, with three hundred knights and two thousand foot soldiers, remained to assist Godfrey in holding Jerusalem. Even this force was retained with difficulty, insufficient though it was, for already Arabs began to swarm around the walls.

Battle of Ascalon, August 12, 1099.

During that summer, the Sultan of Egypt appeared with a formidable army, to reconquer Jerusalem, and revenge on the Christians the massacres committed upon the Turks. A part of his army consisted of three hundred Ethiopians, black as night, armed with flails, or scourges of iron, to whip the Christian dogs out of the land. Godfrey and Tancred met this force at Ascalon. The Crusaders achieved a complete victory. The Egyptians, with their flails and scourges, fled at the first onset.

Godfrey died about a year afterward. The command passed to his brother Baldwin. Re-inforcements arrived from Genoa by sea. Baldwin took St. Jean d'Acre, and even attacked Egypt, where he died. A year afterward, an immense caravan of pilgrims, warriors, Bishops, and high-born ladies, set out under the leadership of Duke Welf IV. of Bavaria; at the head of the ladies was Ida, mother of Leopold, Margrave of Austria. On the Plain of Cappadocia (Asia Minor), this unhappy and rash army was defeated, the pilgrims were routed, taken prisoners, or massacred, and Ida was consigned to the Harem of a great Turkish chief.

Death of Godfrey, 1100.

Death of Baldwin, 1104.

Forty-seven years had passed since the taking of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon, when Europe was again aroused by reports that the Holy City was in danger. Edessa, one of the strongest defenses of the Christians in Asia Minor, had been taken by the Mohammedans, the town destroyed, and most of its defenders put to the sword; the rest were working in chains as slaves, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem was in danger of being overthrown.

Second Crusade, 1147.

Conrad III., Emperor of Germany, and Louis VII., King of France, placed themselves at the head of a second Crusade. At this time, Manuel I., a brother-in-law of Conrad, was Emperor in Constantinople. Conrad started in May, with an army of about seventy thousand mounted knights, besides an immense number of other followers, lighter armed troops, children, priests, women, etc. Their number is said to have exceeded four hundred thousand. In this army a corps of Amazons rode in the attitude and armor of men. Conrad was closely

followed by Louis, also at the head of seventy thousand knights, and perhaps more.*

Before crossing the frontier, the Germans were forced to take the oath of fealty to Manuel, and they did not reach Constantinople without having encountered many serious difficulties. A furious hurricane inflicted extraordinary injuries upon them, sweeping away not only tents, but men, horses, etc., into the river Melas. At length, Conrad with his army arrived in Constantinople, and concluded a treaty by which the Greeks were to supply his army with food at fair prices, and trustworthy guides to show him the safest way to Jerusalem. The perfidy of the Greeks soon became apparent. The guides led the Crusaders far out of the right way into most dangerous paths. Some towns refused to give them food, or gave it to them mixed with poison, and always demanded payment in advance. Change for their money was given in false coin, counterfeited for the purpose. Often after the Greeks had been paid they refused to deliver the food, and answered the complaints of the starving soldiers with shouts of derision. Many of the Germans died of hunger and thirst. But even this was not the worst. The treacherous guides had been all this time leading the Christians into an ambuscade. They found themselves in a barren desert, without water, and surrounded by innumerable swarms of Saracen riders. A battle took place in which the worn out Crusaders were disastrously routed, and the greater part of the men cut to pieces. Seven thousand saved their lives by flight. Conrad himself, wounded by two arrows, escaped to Nice and thence to Constantinople, where his brother-in-law Manuel, now relieved from his alarm, received him kindly.

* We have guarded against exaggerating numbers.

Here Conrad embarked and sailed across the Mediterranean to Acre. During his campaign, Louis, with his 70,000 knights, had advanced by way of Constantinople, partly across Asia Minor, when he learned the destruction of the German army, upon which he retreated to the sea-coast and safely reached the port of Attalia (Pamphylia). Thence he went by sea to Antioch in Syria, where Conrad had arrived two days before. In Asia Minor, Louis had been subjected to almost as great dangers as Conrad. He also had been surrounded by innumerable hosts. His army was destroyed, and he saved his life only by climbing into a tree and there spending the night. An incident may serve to show the sad fate often reserved for the mass of Crusaders of lower rank. When Louis, as already mentioned, arrived with the remnant of his army at the Mediterranean sea-port of Attalia, he found that from accident, or more probably treachery, the expected supply of Greek vessels had not been furnished. Only his knights and nobles could be taken on board. The plebeian infantry thus abandoned were probably cut to pieces or sold into slavery. The two sovereigns and the remnant of their armies returned to Europe, oppressed not only with the shame of defeat and grief for the loss of two hundred thousand followers, but by the mortifying certainty that their failure had inflamed the enthusiasm of the Mohammedans and weakened the hopes of the Christian world. The Abbot Bernard, of Clairvaux, who had most eagerly preached this Crusade, was now accused as a false prophet and made responsible for the consequences. He defended himself by declaring that the true cause of the failure was not only the treachery of the Greeks, but the sins and follies, the

Eastern events between the second and third Crusades, 1149-1188.

imprudence, pride, profligacy, and discords of the Crusaders themselves.

This disastrous failure had gone far toward extinguishing European visions of Asiatic conquests, but events soon occurred to revive these hopes. Forty years had passed since Conrad's death. The remote Kingdom of Jerusalem was falling into decay. The quarrels among the Crusaders had become standing feuds. The ecclesiastical military orders were in bitter conflict, the princes of Antioch, Tripolis, and Cyprus were jealous of each other, and of the insignificant successive kings of Jerusalem. At the moment when these discords were at their height, Saladin, a great and noble character, ascended the throne of Egypt as an independent sovereign, and the ablest Mohammedan leader of his time. Saladin being Sultan not only of Egypt, but of Syria, the small Kingdom of Jerusalem was almost entirely inclosed within his territory. A new war had broken out between Christians and Mohammedans, now suspended by an armistice. The Sultan's mother, trusting in this armistice, ventured to make a journey across Christian territory. Her caravan was attacked by Christian knights under Raynald of Chatillon, her guard murdered, her treasures plundered. Saladin led an army to punish this breach of faith, and the treason of another Christian knight opened his way to an easy conquest. Guy of Lusignan, a feeble sovereign, had been appointed to the throne of Jerusalem, to the exclusion of Raymond, Governor of Tiberias, who now took advantage of so favorable an opportunity for revenge. He treacherously persuaded Lusignan to lead his army into a dangerous position, far away from watercourses; meanwhile, secretly informing Saladin when and where he might attack with the greatest advantage.

Battle of Hittin, or Tiberias, 1187.

The two armies met at Hittin, near Tiberias. The Christians were totally defeated. The traitor, Raymond, fled. Lusignan and Raynold were both taken prisoners and brought before Saladin,—Lusignan fainting with thirst and terror—Raynald, a soldier of fortune, calm and unintimidated. Saladin courteously saluted the trembling Lusignan, and handing him a goblet of sherbet, cooled in snow, said: "*The person of a king is sacred.*" Then turning to Raynald, he added: "*But this impious robber must instantly acknowledge the prophet Mohammed, or die on the spot.*"—"*I will never acknowledge your false prophet!*" cried Raynald. The words had scarcely left his lips when his head fell to the ground, severed by Saladin's cimetar. After ordering the immediate execution of two hundred and thirty Christian knights, the Sultan marched to Jerusalem, swearing to avenge the massacre of Moslems perpetrated under Godfrey and the first Crusaders. The garrison capitulated and appealed to his mercy. He consented to spare their lives, but each was required to pay a small ransom within fourteen days, or remain slaves of the Turks. At the expiration of the stipulated period, the prisoners were unable to pay the appointed sum. Saladin released them without ransom, and distributed two hundred thousand pieces of gold among their starving families. He entered Jerusalem with all the pomp of oriental pride. Triumphant bursts of music and the waving of golden banners greeted him, and what must have given him still more pleasure, —the grateful acclamations of his conquered enemies. The Christian church, after having been purified with rose-water from the taint of Christianity, was reconverted into a mosque; while the cross, precipitated from

its height, was dragged through the streets. Not only Jerusalem, but other towns and principalities, fell into the hands of the Infidels.

Third Crusade, June 10, 1188-1192.

The news filled Europe with consternation, and reawakened its chivalric ardor. A third Crusade was proclaimed. Frederic I. (Barbarossa), Philip Augustus, King of France, and Richard Cœur de Lion, King of England, took up the cross. A hundred vessels bore the French and English from Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, to Palestine.

Richard and Philip joined forces at Acre, and laid siege to that city. Saladin had concentrated an immense army at a few miles' distance. The siege lasted two years. Nine bloody battles were fought. In the second year Acre capitulated. To escape a universal massacre, the Moslems paid a large sum of gold, and surrendered a number of prisoners, some historians say three thousand. After the capitulation, an incident occurred which blackened the fame of Richard. To use the words of Gibbon: "Some doubts in the agreement, and some delay in the execution of the terms, rekindled the fury of the Franks, and three thousand Moslem prisoners were beheaded, almost under the eyes of the Sultan, by order of the sanguinary Richard." Gibbon would scarcely have related this ferocious murder without sufficient proof. Contrasted with Richard's brutality, how noble appears the magnanimity of Saladin! No wonder that Arab mothers used the name of Richard to frighten their children into good behavior, or that when a horse shied, his rider exclaimed: "*Fool, dost thou think King Richard is in the bush?*" The third Crusade appears to have been defeated by quarrels among the Crusaders, and particularly between Richard and Philip.

The latter, at last, returned to France in disgust. Richard continued his march toward Jerusalem, fought his way through the Turkish troops, and routed a large force under Saladin himself. In the midst of the battle, his horse was killed under him, when Saladin, seeing his royal enemy fighting on foot, courteously sent him as a present a magnificent horse of his own. But all Richard's plans were defeated by his envious colleagues. After concluding an armistice with Saladin, which secured some privileges to the Christians, Richard started for England by sea, but was wrecked on the German coast, and continued his journey on foot, and in disguise, across Germany (1192). He was discovered and arrested by Leopold, Duke of Austria, and delivered up to Henry VI., who cast him into a prison.

Barbarossa had started on the journey by land, with a magnificent army of fifty thousand knights in complete armor, attended by their esquires, and fifty thousand infantry. He had sent embassadors to Bela, King of Hungary, and to Isaac Angelos, the Byzantine Emperor, also to the Sultan of Iconium, for the negotiation of treaties to secure army supplies. He was now seventy years old; his son, Frederic of Swabia, accompanied him, with a large number of dukes, princes, nobles, and bishops. The Greeks now manifested more than their ancient treachery: the Byzantine Emperor, Isaac, cast Frederic's embassador into a dungeon; every obstacle was laid in the way of the Germans. Passes were fortified and Bulgarian murderers engaged, who attacked the Crusaders with poisoned arrows and other deadly weapons, and massacred all who strayed from the ranks. Several battles were fought on Greek territory, in which the armies of the Byzantine Emperor were routed,

his towns taken, and immense booty seized. At Philippopolis, Frederic received a dispatch from the Emperor Isaac, in which the latter called himself "Most Holy Emperor" and "Angel of the Globe," while Frederic was addressed as "the first German prince." Frederic returned the letter without any answer, and advanced toward Constantinople. The frightened "angel of the globe" now readily signed a new treaty, stipulating all necessary supplies, and with blasts of trumpets and the blowing of horns, the German army crossed the Bosporus at Gallipolis, more than one hundred miles west of Constantinople. But, as they advanced by way of Sardes and Philadelphia toward Iconium, it became plain that the Mohammedans and Greeks had united for their destruction. They were, at first, allured onward by ample supplies of provisions, but were gradually attacked by increasing numbers of cavalry breaking out from ravines, hidden among the mountains, with which Asia Minor is covered. Treacherous guides misled them, paths were blocked up by obstructions, mountain passes fortified, bridges broken down, stragglers murdered and pillaged; in the woods, the air filled with arrows, flying from invisible hands. The sick, abandoned on the road from necessity, were burned to death; and many a poor fellow, who lingered a moment behind his companions, was seized and hanged upon a tree, a prey for the birds of the air. In this way, immense numbers of men and horses were killed. Thirty thousand Turks at one time attacked them, but were put to flight. Provisions ceased to be supplied. The Crusaders were crossing a sandy desert, absolutely without water; famine increased; the German ranks were greatly thinned. Horses were killed and eaten, and the blood of the poor animals was all

that could be procured to quench thirst. At last, the town of Iconium was reached; here the Sultan had gathered his entire force, without the least doubt of accomplishing the ruin of the invaders. A furious battle was fought, which lasted several days. Both Frederic and his son, the Duke of Swabia, distinguished themselves by their courage. The Emperor plunged into the thickest of the fray, his troops following so impetuously that the Turkish ranks gave way under the shock, and, at the same moment, the young Duke's banner was flung out on the towers of Iconium, which had been taken by storm. Immense spoils were found in the conquered city. The Germans had already resumed their march toward Jerusalem, when Barbarossa was drowned in the Calicadnos, a Cilician river. Historians are not fully agreed concerning the circumstances of his death. After this event, many of the Crusaders returned to Europe.

Death of Saladin, March, 1193.

Worn out by his extraordinary exertions, Saladin died at Damascus, in 1193. The traits related of him are so beautiful as to be almost incredible. On his death, he distributed alms to the poor of both religions, Moslem and Christian, and, instead of his standard, ordered a shroud to be displayed, in order to remind his followers of the instability of human greatness. When his strong hand was withdrawn, his Empire crumbled to pieces.

Children's Crusade, 1212.

Scarcely any feature of these movements is more shocking to the Christian reader than the Children's Crusade, which took place under Innocent III. This singular expedition was supposed to be justified by the words of Jesus: "Suffer little children to come unto me." Many thousand

little boys and girls left their homes and their parents, assumed the garb of pilgrims, and under the guidance of priests and monks, found their way to the sea-ports of the Mediterranean, and embarked for the distant Holy Land. Nearly all perished from hunger, fatigue, over-excitement, or disease. Some were led to their destruction by swindlers, robbed and murdered; some were captured by pirates, and sold as slaves; none of these innocent victims returned to their homes.

Close of the Crusades, 1291.

We have now sufficiently described the Crusades. The movements continued at irregular intervals, from the end of the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century (1090–1291). Historians count seven or eight. At one time (1203), the Crusaders took Constantinople, put an end for a while to the Greek Empire, and erected a Latin Empire and several duchies upon its ruins. The Byzantine Emperors, however, regained possession of their capital about fifty years later (1261). In the last important Crusade, led by the King of France, Louis IX. (the Saint), that sovereign was taken prisoner with his entire army, barbarously treated, but at length ransomed. He made yet another attempt, but his second army was swept away by a pestilence, which at last carried off the king himself. This finally terminated the Crusades. The loss of life during these two hundred years has been estimated at seven millions, though not according to very reliable statistics. In 1268, the Principality of Antioch was taken by the Mohammedans, large numbers of the Christians massacred, and others sold into slavery. Among eminent persons who took part in the later Crusades was Prince Edward, afterward Edward I., King of England. The various conquests of the Christians,

one after another, were finally taken back by the Mohammedans; the last fief of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Tripolis, was lost in 1289. Acre struggled a little longer, but after a desperate resistance, was at last taken by the Sultan of Egypt, Malek-al-Aschief (May 18, 1291), and its defenders ruthlessly slaughtered; if any were spared, it was to be sold into slavery. The number of Christians massacred on this occasion is estimated at sixty thousand; this is thought by some an exaggeration. Still, it is quite probable that, in order to defend a last lingering possession after a war of two hundred years, Christian knights must have been eager to rally in large numbers; while the Mohammedans would not be likely to weaken the impression of their final victory by moderation in the treatment of the conquered.

Ecclesiastical Military Orders.

Three great ecclesiastical military orders were established during the Crusades. *The Knights of St. John* (called also Knights of Malta and Knights Hospitallers), the *Knights Templars*, and the *Teutonic Knights*, honestly started, with noble aims; they all degenerated, and became false to their purpose. The Knights of St. John, an Italian order (the oldest of the three), were originally intended to take care of the sick. They were soon engaged in more warlike pursuits. Their chief bore the title of Grand Master. After the last Crusade and the loss of the Holy Land, the order nevertheless continued to exist. Charles V. (1530) having presented these knights with the Isle of Malta as a fief, they were thenceforth called *Knights of Malta*. This order, invested by the Popes with great privileges, acquired immense property in many Christian countries. The Reformation deprived them of their vast

possessions. In 1798, Napoleon took their island without difficulty, and entered their capital with these words: "It is fortunate that we have found some one here to open the gates for us." The order was subsequently abolished in nearly every country. After the revolutionary movements in 1848, Frederic William IV. of Prussia established a new order, bearing the same name, for the nursing of the sick. This order has spread over other parts of Germany, has erected hospitals in a true Christian spirit, and rendered great services in mitigating the horrors of war, particularly in 1866 and 1870–'71.

The order of Knights Templars was founded by French knights, for the protection of the thousands of pilgrims crowding into Jerusalem. The King of Jerusalem, Baldwin II., gave them a part of the palace supposed to stand upon the site of the Temple of Solomon. Hence their name. They took vows of chastity, poverty, obedience, and war against the Infidels. In the thirteenth century, they had grown into a powerful and numerous order, extending over an immense territory. Their Grand Master ranked with royal princes. The knights wore over their armor a mantle of white linen, embroidered with a scarlet cross. Philip IV. (the Fair), King of France (1268–1314), had succeeded in temporarily breaking down the power of the Papacy. His daring enterprises requiring money, he depreciated the currency, persecuted and robbed the Jews, and now looked around for some other means of bettering his finances. The powerful order of the Knights Templars offered an opportunity. He feared their power, and coveted their wealth. The character of this order, like that of the others, had no doubt degenerated. Sir Walter Scott, in his novel "Ivanhoe," has probably painted a fair specimen in *Brian de Bois Guil-*

bert. Their sins excited the abhorrence of the pious Philip, who brought against them heavy charges, true or false. In October, 1310, all the knights within his reach were arrested in one night; numbers were burned; many, through fear of torture, confessed their guilt. The parasite, Pope Clement V., obedient to the King's will, dissolved the order, and made over its property to the Knights of St. John. But Philip and the Pope together managed the matter so adroitly, that the former secured the lion's share. Two years afterward (1314), two Knights Templars were burned for recanting their confession. On this occasion, it is said, one of the knights at the stake, before his death, summoned Pope and King to appear before God's judgment-seat,—the first, within forty days; the second, within a year and a day. Both sovereigns died within the specified period.

The German order of the Teutonic Knights was established (1190) for the purpose of nursing the sick and for the defense of the Holy Land. The order was suppressed in 1809, by Napoleon. These ecclesiastical orders rendered little service, but did a great deal of mischief.

View of the Crusades from the Christian stand-point.

We seldom find, in the works of historians, a view of the Crusades from the Christian stand-point. The poet loves to dwell on their picturesque grandeur, to describe those armed masses marching to lands so distant for a purpose so noble, to enlarge upon their courageous and heroic deeds. A magnificent panorama passes before our eyes: Knights in glittering armor mounted on richly-caparisoned chargers, plume in helmet and lance in hand; the splendor of oriental scenery, costumes, and warfare; Eastern towns; massive walls, gates, and

towers; the crash of battle; the storming of citadels; daring exploits, hair-breadth escapes; the shouts of victory; and all the pomp and circumstance of war:

> "in glorious Christian field;
> Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
> Against black pagans, Turks, and Saracens."

These pictures arrest attention and dazzle imagination. The statesman studies the influence of the Crusades upon the political affairs of Europe, their effect upon navigation, trade, and commerce; the blow they dealt to the iron feudal system. The Christian reader sees in them, as their most prominent feature, the antithesis between the whole movement and the spirit, as well as the letter, of the Gospel. He wonders at beholding the cross of Christ held up to urge men on to battle, and dripping with blood. He blushes at seeing the Crusaders, not only on a level with Mohammedans in cruelty, but sometimes beneath them. Even Godfrey and Tancred, either would not or could not prevent a massacre in Jerusalem. Saladin, when his turn came, could and did. The Christians had received the precept of mercy, but only the Mohammedans practiced it. The crimes, the plundering, the storming, the slaughtering, the massacres, the low passions of jealousy and hatred, the thirst for vengeance, the pride and vainglory of conquest, all these illustrate a false Christianity and a fallen Church.

Then the folly of the Crusaders: the transport of such multitudes, with no better arrangements and no clearer knowledge of the way, to places two thousand miles distant. How could Emperors abandon their subjects to the careless government and oppressions of probably selfish and incapable delegates? The Popes,

however carried away, in some cases, by genuine superstitious enthusiasm, soon discovered what earthly rewards were to be reaped from the fanatical movements which drew so many hundred thousands to destruction. These infallible vicegerents of Christ continually fanned the fanaticism through their legates and missionaries, and collected large sums, particularly by the tax, called the Saladin tenth, imposed upon both laity and clergy after Saladin's death. How did these Popes dare to teach the blasphemous doctrine that men could wash away sins, and even crimes, by taking part in a Crusade?—that, instead of remaining at home and driving the great enemy out of their own hearts and lives, they were to purchase salvation by driving the Infidel out of the Holy Land? Had Christ said on the Mount: "Follow me! Come and overthrow the Roman Empire, and ye shall have eternal life?"

Little did Richard, Philip, and Louis think that their successors on the throne would, in the nineteenth century, carry on destructive wars, for the purpose of maintaining these same Mohammedans in possession of the Holy Land. Little did Urban IV. or Innocent III. foresee that, as early as the sixteenth century, sincere Christians would arise at the call of an obscure Reformer, to drive the Papacy itself out of Germany. What could not have been accomplished if the enormous sums wasted on the Crusades had been applied to the education of the ignorant, the relief of the peasantry, the suppression of robber-knights, and the support of preachers of the true Gospel?

Among the consequences of the Crusades were the following: 1. The Papacy became more wealthy and powerful. 2. Many States received more freedom. The

princes, setting out for the Holy Land, being generally in want of money, sold to their subjects large privileges and, sometimes, complete independence. 3. New paths were opened to trade and commerce, through which streams of wealth flowed into Europe, particularly into the Italian Republics; traces of which still dazzle the eyes of tourists, in the stately palaces of Genoa, Florence, etc. 4. The knowledge of Geography, Natural History, etc., was enlarged. 5. The three Ecclesiastical Military orders exercised an important influence on European affairs.

CHAPTER VI.

EMPERORS OF DIVERS DYNASTIES.

FROM RUDOLPH OF HAPSBURG (1291) TO MAXIMILIAN I. (1493).—BREAKING OUT OF THE REFORMATION.

WE now step rapidly over about two hundred years. The principal feature of this period was a struggle for power among the great vassals of the throne, particularly the houses of Hapsburg, Bavaria, and Luxemburg. In these contests, the interests of the Empire were sacrificed to personal ambition. Adolph of Nassau was deposed, and killed in battle by his successor.

Adolph of Nassau, 1292-1298.

Albert of Austria, son of Rudolph of Hapsburg, resumed his father's project to strengthen the house of Austria; to re-erect certain territories, including Switzerland, into a new kingdom of Burgundy, and to incorporate this kingdom into his own family domains. He refused, however, to confirm the rights which Rudolph had granted. The Swiss resisted, and a quarrel ensued. The episode of Gessler, Tell, and the league of Rütli took place during Albert's reign. Albert was assassinated by his nephew John, who declared he had been cheated out of his estate.

Albert of Austria, 1298-1308.

It is now contended that Tell, the shooting of the apple, the murder of Gessler, and even the oath of Rütli, are not historical. The legend existed two hundred years before the period of Tell, and

Is Tell a myth?

is found in Norway, Iceland, Denmark, Holstein, and on the Rhine. The apple is sometimes a nut, and sometimes a coin. On the other hand, Lutz has the following passage: "The parties denying the authenticity of Tell's history forget that in 1388 (eighty years after the death of Albert), one hundred and fourteen men made a formal declaration before the common council of Uri, that they had been personally acquainted with Tell."* Lutz also refers to a Latin poem, written (1315) by Heinrich von Hunenberg, which mentions the shooting of the apple by Tell from the head of his boy.

Henry VII. of Luxemburg, 1308-1313.

Henry VII. was elected as a counterpoise to the power of the Hapsburgs. He was crowned at Milan, King of Lombardy, and at Rome, Emperor of the Romans. He died, it was believed, by poison, which a priest gave him while administering the Eucharist. He had acquired the Kingdom of Bohemia for his son.

Frederic the Fair, 1313-1330.

The real successor of Henry VII. of Luxemburg was Louis IV. of Bavaria. A minority of the college of electors, however, having voted for Frederic the Fair of Austria, that prince also was proclaimed King. The result was a civil war, and at last the capture of Frederic by Louis. Louis treated his rival magnanimously. The two competitors were grandsons of Rudolph of Hapsburg.

Louis IV., the Bavarian.

At this time, Pope John XXII. was reviving the pretensions of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., etc., to raise the Papal chair above the temporal throne. Louis announced to the Pope his intention to cross the Alps, in order to demand the

* Handlexicon der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft von M. Lutz. Aarau, 1856. I. Bd., page 26. We might ask *why* they made this declaration?

crowns of Lombardy and Rome. In reply, John declared that Louis had no right to the royal title and authority. The power to decide all questions with regard to the election of German kings was vested in the Pope. He summoned Louis to appear before him. Louis refused, upon which John launched a ban-bull against him, deposing him, and releasing his subjects from their allegiance. Louis crossed the Alps with a strong force, and was crowned in Milan and Rome (1327). He then deposed John, and appointed Nicolas V., Pope; but in consequence of the heavy contributions, which want of money obliged him to levy upon the Italians, the new Emperor of the Romans was unceremoniously driven out of Italy by the Italian people. The German princes, disgusted by the Papal arrogance, declared Louis (1338) released from the ban, and passed a resolution that thenceforth the election of German kings should take place entirely independent of the Pope. New causes increased the quarrel between Pope and Emperor, until, under Pope Clement VI., the contest reached its climax. Clement offered peace, on the condition that the Empire should acknowledge itself a vassal of the Holy See. Louis was in favor of accepting, but the Diet indignantly rejected the offer. Clement then, also, launched a bull of excommunication against Louis, a part of which ran thus:

"We beseech thee, Almighty God, to humble the pride of this Louis to the dust. Deliver him defenseless into the hands of his enemies; let him fall into a hidden snare. Cursed be his coming in and his going out. Destroy him with blindness, folly, and madness. Strike him with lightning. The fury of God and of his apostles, Peter and Paul, whose Church he has attempted to suppress, be kindled against him in this world and in the world to come. Let the whole earth and all the elements rise up against him. Let hell open and swallow him alive. Let his house be left desolate; let his children be slain by his enemies before their father's eyes."

In addition to this bull, Clement found means to effect the deposition of Louis, and the appointment of Charles IV. of Luxemburg-Bohemia in his place. The same electors (with two exceptions) who had before supported Louis against the Papal vengeance, now (bribed) abandoned him and voted for Charles, subsequently Emperor Charles IV., but who did not ascend the throne till Louis' death, a year afterward. The Pope had thus succeeded in bestowing the German crown upon one of his own creatures, who accepted all the humiliating conditions imposed by the Pontiff and rejected by the Diet. Charles swore to cancel all the acts of Louis' reign, as having proceeded from a "damned heretic"; to depose all the German bishops whom Louis had appointed; never to claim, in Italy or elsewhere, any territory which the Pope considered as belonging to the Church, and not to cross the Alps till he had obtained confirmation by the Pope of his election as German King. About a year after the election, Louis suddenly died. The Papal party ascribed his death to Clement's bull, but his friends declared that he had been poisoned. Among other territories, Louis had added Brandenburg to the estates of his family.

Charles IV. of Luxemburg-Bohemia, 1347-1378.

When Charles IV. ascended the throne, two electors had voted for a noble knight, Gunther of Schwarzburg. Gunther, however, died the same year.* Charles was then crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. Yielding every thing to the Pope, and bent only upon aggrandizing his family,

* Gunther's monument may be seen at Frankfort-on-the-Main. The following story is related: Three months after his election, he began to waste away. A physician offered to cure him with a drink which he had brought. Gunther said: "Drink you first a part, and I will drink after you." The doctor trembled, but drank. Gunther drank also, and both died a short time after. The story is doubted. It shows, however, what the people thought of Gunther's death.

he went to Rome, and received there the Roman crown as a present from the Pope, on the condition that he would remain only one day in Rome, and this without claiming in Italy any of the rights of the preceding German Kings. He fell very low in the latter years of his reign, and notwithstanding the large territories added to his private property, he was once arrested by his butcher for debt. He died at the age of sixty-two. The wits said, he had ruined his family to acquire the Empire, and ruined the Empire to enrich his family. He had certainly added much to the wealth and power of his house. To his son Wenzel, he left Silesia, the Kingdom of Bohemia, and the Upper Palatinate; while his next son, Sigismund, received the Mark of Brandenburg, destined soon to become so important as the starting-point of the house of Hohenzollern. Charles founded the famous University of Prague.

His most important achievement was the promulgation of the Golden Bull, an edict, so called from its golden seal. This fundamental law remained in force till the fall of the Empire. It vested the right to elect the Emperor in seven princes: The three Archbishops of Mayènce, Treves, and Cologne, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. These electors ranked next to the Emperor, and enjoyed many important privileges. Their number was in reference to the seven golden candlesticks of the Apocalypse. The elections were to take place at Frankfort-on-the-Main; the coronation, at Aix-la-Chapelle. The document, although greatly praised, was not a remedy for the weakness of the state; it merely reduced to a written form the right which the princes

Golden Bull, 1356.

had already usurped. It rendered powerful nobles more powerful, and those of subordinate rank more defenseless. It made the princes stronger, and the throne weaker. It favored decentralization, and prepared for the future dismemberment of the Empire. It gave no opportunity for the expression of national will, but surrendered the right of electing to a permanent ring. The elections were continually decided by intrigues and bribery. Even the author of this important document bought the election of his son Wenzel, or Wenzislas, by gifts of domains and cities belonging to the Empire. What would the people of the United States say, if Congress were to appoint a permanent hereditary committee of seven gentlemen, invested with the right to choose a President for life? The first effect of the bull was to increase the envy of the other princes, and to set them still more at variance with the electors. The electors naturally strengthened themselves as they best could. Ultimately, the bull did not prevent the throne from falling into the hands of the Hapsburgs, where it remained more than three hundred years.* True, the electors still continued to perform their office. They went through the form of an election, but they always elected a Hapsburg.

The Black Death, 1346-1351.

In the beginning of Charles' reign, a deadly plague, preceded by a violent earthquake, swept over Europe, carrying away one fourth of the population. It lasted five years. Societies of self-scourgers wandered together through Germany, wailing, singing, and scourging themselves publicly. As they approached the towns, the bells rang and the people wept. At last arose a cry. *The Jews had poisoned the wells!* A number of rich Jews, who held pecuniary

* The original copy of the Golden Bull is preserved in Frankfort-on-the-Main.

claims against hundreds of debtors, were massacred, sometimes burned alive. Whatever the Jews might have done,* surely they were less guilty than the Christians. After the massacre, all the property of the murdered Jews was seized by Christian authorities, or by the people. Vouchers, mortgages, pawnbrokers' tickets, were returned to those who had given them; the gold and silver were divided among working-men. This was, no doubt, thought a kind of retributive justice, but not much in harmony with the word of God. A chronicler thus comments upon the fact: "The Jews were killed on account of their money. If they had been poor, or if the upper classes had not been indebted to them, they would not have been massacred."

Wenzel, 1378-1400.

Wenzel, eldest son of Charles IV., an intemperate and tyrannical prince, was three times arrested by his subjects, and once held prisoner for several months. He annulled certain debts owed to the Jews, on condition that the debtors should allow him a percentage. After another massacre by the mob, of three hundred Jews at Prague, he confiscated the estates of the victims, and pocketed the money. He was finally compelled to abdicate in favor of his brother Sigismund.

Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, 1400-1410.

Rupert,† one of the seven electors, was elected instead of Sigismund, on the condition that he would overlook the corruption which prevailed among the other electors, in their collection and use of the Rhine duties. Rupert died, after a feeble reign of ten years. He built the magnificent palace, now a picturesque ruin, on the height of Heidel-

* There was no evidence of their guilt.

† Or, Ruprecht.

berg, which lightning and the robber wars of Louis XIV. have reduced to its present state.

Sigismund, 1410–1437.

Sigismund, son of Charles IV., succeeded Rupert. Three of the electors had voted for Jodicus, or Jobst, who died, however, six months after his election. Sigismund had pledged the Mark of Brandenburg to Jodicus for two hundred thousand florins. The Mark was then in a deplorable condition: the common people were trampled on, alike by the Faustrecht (club law, or right of might), robber-knights, and dishonest or cruel magistrates, and their condition was made worse by the taxes which Jodicus had levied, to compensate his disbursements. In addition, the rulers of the neighboring States took advantage of the defenselessness of the Mark, to incorporate portions of it into their own territory. On the death of Jodicus, the Mark came again into possession of the Emperor Sigismund.

Brandenburg and the Hohenzollerns, 1415.

Frederic VI., Burgrave of Nuremberg, had assisted Sigismund in obtaining the German throne, and among other services had loaned him one hundred thousand florins, which Sigismund did not find it convenient to repay at that moment. Frederic proposed to buy the Mark for two hundred and fifty thousand florins; the Emperor agreed, and the consent of the Electoral College was obtained.* Brandenburg thus came into the possession of the house of Hohenzollern, which, notwithstanding signal vicissitudes, from that moment continued to rise till it attained pre-eminence over all other German houses. Frederic was joyfully

* There are different accounts of this transaction: *Riedel, Gesch. des Preuss. Koenigshauses* says: There was no sale, but a "remuneratorische Schenkung" (profitable exchange of presents).

received by the people of Brandenburg. The robber-knights, several times destroyed but always reappearing, feared his iron hand and attempted resistance. Frederic pursued them into their strongholds, battered down their castles, and hanged the owners on the nearest trees. Peace and order began to prevail in Brandenburg.

Four chief events during the reign of Sigismund.

The reign of Sigismund was made memorable by four important events: the meeting of the Council of Constance, the burning of John Huss, the Hussite war resulting from that crime, and the so-called settlement of the schism in the Roman Church.

Council of Constance, 1414-1418.

The Council of Constance represented the Roman Church and the "Holy Roman Empire." It had before it a noble duty. The Church was sinking under abuses. John Huss, a Bohemian (born 1373), had pointed out these abuses. He proclaimed the same opinions which Wycliffe had declared in England about fifty years before, for which Arnold of Brescia had suffered at a former period, and for which, in a subsequent time, Savonarola was strangled and burned. Huss' first Treatise was called forth by the crowds assembled to see the miraculous blood of Christ flowing in the consecrated host. He denounced the Papal claim to infallibility, the sensual lives led by Popes and clergy, their anti-Christian aspirations after temporal power, their wealth and pride, their neglect of the poor, the worship of images and relics, the prayers to the Saints,* etc. The Christian party, in Church and State, hoped Huss would obtain a fair hearing.

* On certain days, the Roman Church was wont to exhibit, among other relics, the following curiosities: The swaddling clothes of the infant Jesus; a

Burning of Huss, July 6, 1415.

The Council cited Huss to appear before it; Sigismund sent him a safe-conduct. His journey from Prague was an ovation. On his arrival at Constance, he was at first permitted to go about freely, and even to preach; but soon after, he was suddenly arrested, loaded with chains, and confined in a dungeon on an island in the lake. Eight charges were brought against him. He asked the assistance of counsel. This was refused. On being brought before the Council, the charges were read to him. He began his reply, but the assembly broke out into such an uproar of insults, that he could not proceed. The Emperor, personally present, entreated, threatened, commanded him to retract. Huss refused, and was sent back to prison. In his cell, he was offered wealth and honors; but steadily refused to retract. He was then burned in

part of the towel with which he wiped his hands after the Last Supper; a thorn from the crown of thorns; the heads of Peter and Paul; a lock of the Virgin Mary's hair, and a piece of her petticoat; the Saviour's robe, sprinkled with his blood; some drops of his blood in a vial; some of the water which flowed from the wound in his side; a piece of the sponge raised to his lips; the table at which he ate the Last Supper; a piece of the stone at the sepulcher on which the angel sat; the porphyry pillar, from the top of which the cock crowed after Peter's denial; the rope with which Judas hanged himself, etc.

"When the French army," says Lockhart, "entered Ancona (1797), the priests had there exhibited an image of the Virgin Mary in the act of shedding tears, the more to stimulate the Roman troops against the republicans; the French soldiers were amused on discovering the machinery by which this trick had been performed. The Madonna's tears were a string of glass beads, turned by clockwork within a shrine, which the worshipers were too respectful to approach." With regard to the worship of saints, we take the following from the account of a traveler (Middleton): "The Pantheon at Rome had been, by the heathen Romans, dedicated to Jove and all the gods. Pope Bonifacius IV. dedicated it to the blessed Virgin and all the saints. With this single exception, it serves exactly all the purposes of the popish, as it did of the pagan, worship for which it was built. For, as in the old temple, every one might find the god of his country, and address himself to that deity whose religion he was most devoted to, so it is the same thing now; every one chooses the patron whom he likes best, and one may see here different altars, with distinct congregations around them, just as the inclination of the people leads them to the worship of this or that particular saint."

a field near the city. As the fire began to envelop him, he prayed with a loud voice: "*Jesus, have mercy!*" His ashes were cast into the lake. The Council caused Jerome of Prague also to be burned about a year afterward; and the bones of Wycliffe to be exhumed and burned, and all his writings destroyed.*

Thoughts on Huss.

Huss almost disappears in the blaze of Luther's fame. This is an injustice. It was given to Luther to accomplish the work without dying for it, while Huss died without accomplishing it. Of a far less prominent martyr (Keiser, 1525), Luther himself said: "I have done comparatively nothing! I have written and preached, but he has given his life." How much more might be said of Huss than of Keiser! The latter nobly gave his life for his faith; but the Reformation had then been for many years kindling German minds. Huss raised his voice almost alone. His preaching, like that of Luther, was followed by a bloody war, and a victory of the Reformed party.

Hussite War, 1419-1436.

At the time of Huss' death, the drunkard Wenzel, still King of Bohemia, died, by which the Emperor Sigismund inherited the crown of that kingdom. The followers of Huss in Bohemia, indignant at the murder of their reformer, refused to acknowledge Sigismund, and a war broke out between Bohemia and the Empire, which lasted eighteen years. Nearly the whole Bohemian people took part in it, and, after several important victories over the Imperialists, at last obtained what they were fighting for, liberty of conscience and the right of the laity to receive, in the communion, both the bread and the wine

* The building, called the Kaufhaus, in which the Council sat, is still standing.

as Jesus had given them. From the Hussites came the Bohemian and Moravian Brothers.

Settlement of the Church Schism.

A schism had for many years existed in the Church. Two Popes reigned at the same time. A previous Council, held at Pisa, had attempted to put an end to this scandal, but had only made matters worse. It had deposed both the two existing Popes, and elected another in their place. As neither of the deposed Popes acknowledged the authority of this Council, they both went on exercising their functions as before. But as the newly-elected Pope did acknowledge the authority of the Council of Pisa, he also had entered upon his duties; so, when the Council of Constance assembled, there were three Popes in the field instead of two: John XXIII., Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII. This was one of the reasons why the Roman Pope John had convoked the Council of Constance. It terminated the schism by electing Martin V., Roman Pope, who merely introduced some unimportant reforms, as a blind to public opinion.

Double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman (German) Empire, 1433.

Sigismund was crowned Emperor in Rome. He then adopted as his seal the double-headed eagle, thus indicating that the German Empire was a continuation of the Empire of the Cæsars, and united with it. The double-headed eagle is still retained by Austria, as if the old Roman Empire were represented by the Austrian monarchy.

Death of Sigismund, 1437.

Sigismund died sitting upon his throne, in his imperial robes, adorned with all the insignia of his rank. He had once said to Pope Eugene IV.: "There are three points of difference between thee and me. Thou risest early, I

sleep late; thou drinkest water, I prefer wine. Thou art driving the Church to destruction; I, the Empire!"

Sigismund having died without male issue, the electors chose his son-in-law, Duke Albert of Austria, who reigned two years as Albert II. In his person, the Hapsburg dynasty re-ascended the throne, which it retained until the dissolution of the Empire.

Albert II., 1437-1439.

Frederic, Archduke of Austria, succeeded Albert, and reigned fifty-three years, a longer reign than any of his predecessors. He was the last German King crowned in the City of Rome. Weak and indolent, he struggled feebly against the Hungarians, Turks, and Italians. He attempted to seize the former possessions of the Hapsburgs in Switzerland; in fact, to transform the Swiss Cantons into an Austrian province, but his efforts only promoted the independence of that republic. To assist him against the Swiss, he procured an army of French hirelings, called Armagnacs. These were defeated by the Swiss; and then, turning against their employer, began to plunder the German territory. Frederic's principal ambition was the aggrandizement of his own house. To accomplish his purpose, he became an obsequious servant of the Pope; in the shameful Concordat of Vienna (1448), he surrendered to the Papacy many important Imperial prerogatives, and thus brought the Empire more completely under the yoke of Rome. While the Empire was thus descending in its foreign relations, its internal condition was still worse. Lawless and turbulent anarchy reigned supreme. A single example: Two young princes, sons of the Elector of Saxony, were kidnapped by two noblemen, to avenge a supposed injury. One of the

Frederic III., 1440-1493.

children was recaptured, and with him the chief perpetrator of the outrage; the other ruffian escaped with his prey, and wrote to the elector: "Promise me a free pardon, and I surrender your child; refuse, and I kill him." The promise was made, and the child sent home. From his indolent and peace-loving character, Frederic was called "the night-cap"; but in his personal affairs, he was wide-awake. He not only strengthened the foundation of the house of Hapsburg, but he rendered the crown almost hereditary in his family. In private life, he was moral, simple in his habits, with a sense of justice and respect for law. An Austrian historian says of him: "Silently and without being missed, the old Emperor disappeared from the scene, at the age of seventy-eight, while all eyes were fixed upon his youthful son and successor, whose chivalric character awakened the highest expectations."

Maximilian I., 1493–1519.

Maximilian I. became king at the age of thirty-four, reigned twenty-six years, and died in his sixtieth year. Many historians have given him credit for introducing imporant reforms. In this matter, he has been overrated. The reforms were imposed upon him by the estates, and he generally resisted them. He voluntarily made no concessions which tended to lessen royal prerogatives. He cared less for the Empire than for Austria, and in furtherance of his personal ambition became involved in wars in Italy and elsewhere. He applied to the Diet for money to help him in these foreign expeditions: the Diet justly considered national welfare more worthy of attention than an ambitious foreign war, and instead of a war appropriation sent him for his signature the sketch of a constitution. He wished to govern with the grand

despotism of the early Emperors. The quarrel at last became so violent, that he once declared to the Estates: "You are striving to deprive me of my royal rights; but rather than surrender to you my crown, I will take it from my head with my own hand, and trample it beneath my feet." He nevertheless confirmed several important reforms.

One of the chief of these was the proclamation, at the Diet of Worms, of the new Land-peace. Maximilian's father, Frederic III., had vainly attempted to proclaim this Land-peace. For the state of the country, at the outbreak of the Reformation, had become almost as anarchical and intolerable as that which had preceded the Treaty of Verdun. Germany cried out for a constitution and for peace. In order to obtain these, the people were almost ready for a revolution. Frederic III. had founded or confirmed the Swabian League, the object of which was at first to enforce a Land-peace upon Swabia alone. The Swabian States were joined by several others, a constitution was adopted, a police organized, magistrates and other officers appointed. This was a kind of wedge introduced to try whether a sufficient force could be raised in the cause of law and order, to put down robber-knights, bullying barons, warlike, tyrannical Bishops, and all the friends of brute force who, from the time of Charlemagne, had been practicing the Faustrecht. Frederic tried to use this League against his own internal and foreign enemies. It does not appear at the time of his death to have effected any important change in his interest. The Land-peace proclaimed by Maximilian differed from that promulgated by his father, in two respects. It was made perpetual, and its stipula-

Perpetual peace.

Swabian League.

tions were more strict. All parties, of whatever rank, violating the peace, were to be treated as enemies of the Empire, branded as criminals, placed under the ban, and stripped of their titles, fortunes, and rights. But there was, in fact, no power in the falling Empire, to coerce such knights as Gotz of Berlichingen, Franz of Sickingen, etc. The princes were as tenacious of their rights as the Emperor himself, hence the proclamation of a perpetual Land-peace was not unlike Canute's command to the waves of the ocean. Nevertheless, some wholesome results were attained. The robber-knights were energetically dealt with; the recent introduction of gunpowder made their position weaker. The cannon-ball ascended the steepest crag, and threatened the most massive castle.

But this Perpetual Peace was scarcely established, when the Wars of the Reformation, the Peasants' War, and the War of the Anabaptists broke out, followed by the Thirty Years' War, the most desolating which had ever taken place in Germany.

Circles of the Empire.

Another reform introduced during the reign of Maximilian was the division of the Empire into ten circles.

I. The Circle of Austria (belonging entirely to the House of Austria).
II. The Circle of Burgundy.
III. The Circle of Westphalia.
IV. The Circle of the Palatinate.
V. The Circle of the Upper Rhine.
VI. The Swabian Circle.
VII. The Circle of Bavaria.
VIII. The Circle of Franconia.
IX. The Circle of Lower Saxony.
X. The Circle of Upper Saxony.

The old Roman, and even the Persian Empire, two thousand years ago, had a better postal system than Germany, at the accession of Maximilian. A new system was now inaugurated, Count Turn and Taxis appointed Postmaster, and the office made hereditary in his family, the members of which became immensely rich, and were subsequently raised to the dignity of princes.

Postal system.

The Supreme Court was really reformed in various respects. It had formerly been a mere instrument of the Emperor, following him about on his journeys, and rendering decisions according to his pleasure, all the judges being appointed by himself. This body was now re-organized; the Emperor retained the right of appointing only the Chief Justice; the other judges were elected by states and cities. The Court was also invested with the right of proclaiming the ban. It ceased to follow the Emperor on his journeys, but held its sittings in a fixed place; first, at Worms; afterward, at Spire. But the Empire was too far gone to be resuscitated. Some good was, however, effected. The Faustrecht was slowly weakened, and, in the following century, in a considerable degree, overcome. On the other hand, the changes in the law-courts were soon neglected, and at last entirely laid aside; and, at the fall of the Empire, the old institution had become a by-word for incapacity.

The Supreme Court (Reichskammergericht).

The most important abuse of the times was the subordinate position of the Empire beneath the Papacy. At the accession of Maximilian, the Empire seemed to exist, chiefly, as an instrument of the Roman Church, a source of its wealth, and a means of maintaining its power. The

Breaking out of the Reformation.

Church drew far more gold from Germany than did the Emperor,—partly, by the sale of indulgences; and the Pope (Alexander VI.) squandered this wealth to enrich his family and his favorites among the Roman nobles, and to keep the people bowed down in ignorance and slavery.

The reign of Maximilian was marked by the most important event in German history, the breaking out of the Reformation. The scandal of Tetzel, the publication of the ninety-five theses by Luther, and other memorable circumstances of this great movement, took place while Maximilian was thus struggling with the rising spirit of political reform.

Maximilian's death, January 11, 1519.

After attending a Diet at Augsburg, Maximilian, sick and weary, left that city for Innspruck. But in consequence of an old quarrel, and (some writers say) because of the licentiousness of the court, at the approach of the royal cortege, Innspruck closed its gates, and the Emperor was obliged to remain on the road in his carriage during the night. He died shortly afterward at Wels, on the Danube, thirteen months after Luther had published his Theses.

Why did not the Emperor seek shelter in some one of the neighboring villas, or houses? There were none. The universal lawlessness had converted every German town into a fortress, whose walls and towers were raised as much against the subjects of the Empire as against a foreign enemy. The surrounding country was solitary and ruined by war. It is true there were villages; but they were abodes of wretched peasants, often plundered and burned by robber-knights or ruffian barons. Castles there were also, with walls sometimes twenty-four feet thick; but they stood generally in lonely places, or

on heights, and their masters were not always persons of whom the Emperor was willing to ask hospitality.

Maximilian I. was a mixed character, touched with the chivalry of a past period, yet acting under the pressure of modern events and ideas. His reign marks the transition from Mediæval to Modern history. He was a friend of science, art, and poetry. His brilliant, daring character excited admiration. He was regarded as the last of the knightly Imperators. On leaving Augsburg for Innspruck, sinking beneath fatigue and disease, he exclaimed: "Farewell, beloved Augsburg! May the blessing of God rest upon thee and all thy pious burgers! Many a pleasant hour have I passed within thy walls; now I shall behold thee no more!" Scarcely had he left the town (1518), when Luther entered it for his famous interview with Cardinal Cajetan. Two of the last acts of Maximilian were the grant of a safe-conduct to Luther, and a request to the haughty Legate, that he would "*be gentle with the learned monk of Wittenberg.*"

Our outline does not permit an account of all the striking features of Maximilian's reign. One of the most important was, no doubt, the above-mentioned Land-peace, with the division of Germany into circles as a part of the organization necessary for the execution of the undertaking. The circle of the Upper Rhine included Lorraine; that of Burgundy is now a part of France. Some new mode of protecting the country from the waves of anarchy was as indispensable as the barriers which hold back the ocean from overflowing Holland. The inefficiency of the attempt to do this shows the disintegrating Empire and the corrupt Church. We are now approaching a new era. The Church and Empire, which have sown the wind, are about to reap the whirlwind.

In the time of Leo X., they were rivaling each other in the exclusive pursuit of worldly power. Like the augurs in the temples of heathen Rome, the priests at the Christian altars, it was said, could not perform their duties without laughing in each other's faces. In the upper classes, we mark frivolity, disregard of religion, a passion for gold and animal enjoyment, love of brilliant costumes, and an unbounded savage spirit of revenge; while the lower classes were sunk in the most abject superstition.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EMPIRE AT THE TIME OF LUTHER'S APPEARANCE.

LEO X.—TETZEL—CHARLES V.—LUTHER BEFORE THE DIET OF WORMS—ADRIAN VI.—CLEMENT VII.—CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG—SMALKALDIC LEAGUE—DEATH OF LUTHER, 1546.

AT the time of Luther's appearance, the Empire was thus already passing through a great political crisis. There was little security for life and property; no liberty of conscience; robbery and murder were practiced with impunity; Mohammedanism was rising in power, and advancing to invade the Empire; Maximilian's feeble attempt to patch up the government had proved a failure; and, worst of all, the Church, sunk deep in worldliness and sin, yet maintained all the claims of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. to absolute dominion over the bodies and souls of men.

Within the Empire other empires had arisen. The great Town-Leagues, formed for mutual defense against the violence of knights, nobles, etc., had become very powerful. Among these were the *Rhine League*, and the *League of the Hanse towns*. These unions are evidences of general anarchy, and they naturally made good use of their strength to obtain wealth and political privileges. The Hanseatic League became strong enough to confront foreign sovereigns on land, and even by sea. Strasburg and Aix-la-Chapelle could each bring into the field about twenty

Town-Leagues.

thousand fighting men. The Burgomaster of Lubeck once declared war against Denmark. Whenever the Emperor wished to adopt any important measure, he was obliged to seek assistance from these great Town-Leagues. There were more than fifty free Imperial cities, among them Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Worms, Spire, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Augsburg, Ratisbon (Regensburg), Nuremberg, Nördlingen, Ulm, Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, etc. These cities stood directly under the Emperor's rule, exercised territorial jurisdiction over their domains, and sent representatives to the Imperial Diet. They had once been vassals to great princes, but had bought their freedom from their liege lords, and sometimes aimed at entire independence from them and the Empire. The great towns, as we have seen, were in fact fortresses; hence the name "Bürger," from *burg*, a fortress. Not only great towns, but single princes often acted independently of, and sometimes directly against, the Emperor. For instance, Philip of Hesse re-instated by force Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg into his dukedom, from which he had been excluded by Emperor Charles V.*

"Fehmgericht."

The Fehmgericht was an ancient and mysterious tribunal, which, though sometimes sitting openly, generally conducted its proceedings in secret. Men had been driven to adopt a lynch law. The Fehmgericht,—from an old German word, "Vehm," meaning court of justice,—reached its greatest power in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It had originally been a kind of secret Imperial Council, organized for the purpose of accomplishing desirable reforms, but it had now passed into less worthy hands, and its power was exercised with the most arbitrary severity; all its work-

* These decentralizing tendencies aided the Reformation.

ings were marked by profound secrecy. Every Imperial subject knew that a sword was hanging over his head, though unable to tell whose hand grasped it. The principal seat of this redoubtable tribunal was at Dortmund, in Prussia. There were one hundred thousand active members, called "Wissende" (the knowing, or initiated), holding secret tokens for mutual recognition, bound by oath to execute instantaneously any assassination decreed by the tribunal. In their meetings, the executive sat in a circle around a table, on which lay a dagger and a rope; each judge, entirely disguised, in a large black mantle. In general, however, the tribunal met at night in solitary places, deserted ruins, forests, or caverns. The accused was invited to appear at a certain place and time; the Wissende notifying him affixed a summons to his door, with three heavy knocks, in the middle of the night. We can imagine the terror of a family thus mysteriously awakened. If the summoned failed to appear, he knew that he was surrounded by thousands of assassins unknown to him, perhaps among his nearest friends,—brother, father, or son,—watching his steps night and day, and whose inexorable duty it was to take his life. How suspiciously the dearest friends must have regarded each other! Bishops, princes, sometimes the Emperor himself, were believed to be members of the dreaded tribunal. Frederic III. was once summoned to its bar. When we consider the general depravity of human nature, the corruption and abuses often marking even the highest and most open courts of justice; and also, that one of the objects of the Fehmgericht was to seek out and punish *heresy*,—we shall not wonder that this tribunal became itself a frightful malediction. Princes, towns, and Leagues at last rose up against it; and when a mem-

ber was detected delivering an invitation, he was arrested and executed on the spot.

Chivalry.

Chivalry had abandoned its noble idea of redressing wrongs, defending the helpless, protecting woman, and rescuing Christianity from its enemies. The descendants of the early Crusaders now trampled upon the helpless, and were often distinguished by licentiousness and infidelity. The three great ecclesiastical military orders had become false to their oath, and, as we have seen, were hurrying to their destruction, or had already been destroyed. The immorality of this dreadful period, we may remind the reader, was not confined to Germany, but prevailed through England, France, and Italy; the originals of Bois-Guilbert and Front-de-Boeuf could be found in every part of so-called Christendom.

Punishments inflicted by law, war, and custom.

We barely refer to the barbarous punishments sometimes inflicted even for ordinary offenses. A nobleman once caused a poacher to be bound with iron bands to a wild stag, and hunted by his hounds. The limbs of victims were torn from their bodies by horses. The two chief leaders of an insurrection, Grumbach and Brück, were subjected to torture; after which, the heart of each was cut out of the throbbing breast; the bodies were then quartered, and the pieces exposed on the highway (1567), by order of Elector August I., successor of Maurice of Saxony. It is but fair to state that Maximilian II., at that time Emperor, did not approve of this cruelty. Grumbach was called the last of the robber-knights. The torture-chamber was one of the instruments of public justice; and the witch-trials were marked not only by superstition, but by revenge,

Grumbach.

avarice, and lust. Pope Innocent VIII. had blown this smoldering superstition into a flame by a bull (December 4, 1484), ordering a search for witches throughout Germany, and appointing inquisitors to conduct the search. In Werdenfels, forty-eight women were burned at one time; in Nordlingen, thirty-two, in two years; in Brunswick, so many that the ghastly stakes for ten years stood continually at the town-gate, "like trees in a forest." Before their execution, the victims were tortured. The idea of persecuting witches reached New England through her first settlers in the beginning of the seventeenth century. A historian* thus describes the Empire at the time of Luther: "Feuds carried on by nearly every one; a rage for robbery disgracing no small number of the impoverished nobles; a general prevalence of drunkenness even among the higher classes; costly brilliant costumes on all public occasions, and particularly at the assembling of Diets; a universal passion for gambling, and the unblushing audacity with which high and low, including Church and State, indulged in licentious debauchery—all these show that the nation had nearly lost every noble idea, and that not only the Gospel, but with it, temperance, righteousness, and faith had gradually disappeared and abandoned the field to the spirits of darkness."

1582-1592.

1590-1600.

Many voices were raised against these horrors. Many writers satirized the upper classes, Imperial government, and Church dignitaries. "Reinecke Fuchs," an old legend, was reproduced in the language of the people, representing a state of society where might is right; where law leaves the

Voices raised against these horrors.

* Geschichte der Welt v. Dr. Heinrich Dittmar; dritte Auflage. Heidelberg, 1861.

rich untouched, and only punishes the poor; where the great enjoy with impunity all the forbidden pleasures of vice, and where the fox, the scoundrel of scoundrels, triumphs over every one by cunning and audacity. This work is still much read in Germany.

Thomas à Kempis, 1379-1471.

The little book, called the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis,* represents in that degenerate society the spirit of the pure Gospel, as it first appeared in the world, disengaged from all the abuses and pollutions of the Roman Church. Another powerful influence was that of the popular songs (Volkslieder), inspiring the love of freedom, the hatred of oppression, and reverence for the Gospel.

Cloisters and Nunneries.

In the stormy agitation of the early and middle ages, it was natural that defenseless persons should seek some refuge. Hence, as already said, cloisters arose, and also nunneries for females. These institutions, like chivalry, were for a time most useful, and aided in spreading Christianity. Nearly every convent possessed a library of some kind. A student could pursue his studies there without interruption. The inmates found congenial occupation in copying ancient manuscripts. Many a classical work of great worth has thus been saved from oblivion. The monks sometimes copied the Bible, for the use of those who were permitted to read it, and who had the means and will to pay for their patient labors; a copy cost three hundred thalers; but about Luther's time, the invention of printing put an end to this elegant employment. A

* Thomas à Kempis was a German monk who, by continually copying the Gospels, had discovered the irrefutable intrinsic evidence, as twice explained by Jesus himself (Luke xxiv. 25-27 and 44-48). The same kind of examination strengthened Luther to stand so modestly, yet so firmly, against Pope and Emperor.

school was sometimes connected with the monastery. There were nine orders of monks; among them, the Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustines. All these, except the last, had become centers of lazy immorality.

Peasants.

The most wretched among the German population were the peasants. Treated like dogs, and beaten when they complained, they were, in derision, called "Poor Conrad." Charlemagne had attempted to improve their condition, to introduce among them the rudiments of education, and to make them, as far as possible, acquainted with the Bible. His really Christian projects had been abandoned. The peasants lived in ignorance; the Church made no effort to "*open their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures.*" Even the upper classes had, generally, no learning, and many of the greatest nobles were unable to read. Yet it is one of the redeeming features of the Empire that the Gospel, however distorted and misinterpreted, always manifested its power, sometimes, as in the writings of reformers, breaking out in flames which illuminated the whole country, and sometimes shedding a silent secret light, showing that it was still working its way in and gradually leavening the world.*

* A little poem by Longfellow, called "The Norman Baron," has a historic value as illustrating four peculiarities of the dark ages, marking the dominion of the Church, as well on the Continent as in England.

I. That the reckless ruffian was often ready to receive the Gospel when fairly presented to him.

II. That amid all the sins of the Church, many of her agents faithfully preached its truth, as far as it had been taught to themselves.

III. That these humble servants of God, instead of possessing the Gospel itself, had only such fragments as the Pope was pleased to allow. They had the *Missal*, but seldom used the Bible.

IV. They taught faith in good works as the means of salvation.

Minnesingers.

It was one of the recreations of the higher classes to hear noble bards sing ballads and poems, accompanied by the harp. The themes were generally the adventures of knights and ladies, particularly during the Crusades, mingled, however, with other great historical dramas. The poems, called the *Niebelungenlied*, give us glimpses into the time of Attila. The name "Minnesingers" is derived from a German word, "*Minne*," love. The monotony of social life was delightfully broken by these entertainments, the Emperors them-

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"THE NORMAN BARON.

"In his chamber, weak and dying,
Was the Norman Baron lying.
Loud, without, the tempest thundered,
And the castle turret shook.

"In this fight was death the gainer,
Spite of vassal and retainer,
And the lands his sires had plundered,
Written in the Doomsday-Book.

"By his bed a monk was seated,
Who in humble voice repeated
Many a prayer and paternoster
From the Missal on his knee;

"And amidst the tempest pealing,
Sounds of bells came gently stealing,
Bells that from the neighboring cloister
Rang for the Nativity.

"In the hall the serf and vassal
Held that night their Christmas wassail;
Many a carol, old and saintly,
Sang the minstrels and the waits.

"And so loud these Saxon gleemen
Sang to slaves the songs of freemen,
That the storm was heard but faintly,
Knocking at the castle-gates.

"Till at length the lays they chanted
Reached the chamber, terror-haunted,
Where the monk with accents holy
Whispered at the baron's ear.

selves welcomed the minstrels to their regal halls, and the nobles to their solitary castles, where neither books nor newspapers beguiled the tedious hours.

The Minnesingers were soon imitated by rival minstrels of the middle classes, called *Meistersingers*. The rich burgers enjoyed the performances of these bards as much as our modern audiences the theater, and themselves learned to practice the art of composing poems, and setting them to music. This was a far nobler entertainment than the ballet of

Meistersingers.

"Tears upon his eyelids glistened
As he paused a while and listened,
And the dying baron slowly
Turned his weary head to hear.

"'Wassail for the kingly stranger
Born and cradled in a manger!
King like David, priest like Aaron,
Christ is born to set us free!'

"And the lightning showed the sainted
Figures on the casement painted,
And exclaimed the shuddering baron:
'*Miserere Domine!*'

"In that hour of deep contrition
He beheld, with clearer vision,
Through all outward show and fashion,
Justice, the avenger, rise.

"All the pomp of earth had vanished,
Falsehood and deceit were banished,
Reason spoke more loud than passion,
And the truth wore no disguise.

"Every vassal of his banner,
Every serf born to his manor,
All those wronged and wretched creatures
By his hand were freed again.

"And as on the sacred Missal
He recorded their dismissal,
Death relaxed his iron features,
And the monk replied: 'Amen.'"

our time. Both Minnesingers and Meistersingers often quoted such Bible passages as they were acquainted with. One of the singers in the time of Luther, Hans Sachs, a cobbler of Nuremberg, composed over six thousand poems. The songs of the Minnesingers and Meistersingers betrayed the yearnings of the age for something higher; the breaking of the light through the clouds. They afforded glimpses of holier truths than had been transmitted through a false Church and tottering Empire. But as a fountain issues from the rock, a crystal stream, and becomes polluted by contact with man and his works, so those creations were soon tainted by the surrounding immorality, and, at last, lost nearly all their original beauty and meaning.

Extraordinary events.

As the period of the Reformation approached, the public mind, already agitated by a sense of imprisonment and oppression, was startled by many extraordinary events, inventions, and discoveries. It is to be remembered, in reference to these events, that Luther was born in 1483, and died in 1546.

Constantinople, 1453, conquered by the Turks.

The Roman Empire had continued its existence in the Eastern (Greek) Empire till thirty years before the birth of Luther. It then sunk beneath the waters of the Saracen flood, and the Empire of the Cæsars was represented in the world by the German Empire and the Roman Church alone. The Eastern Empire had reached a very low degree of weakness and corruption. Most of the later Emperors had been murdered. Whatever distinction that Empire might have claimed as the representative of ancient learning, it had, like the Roman Church, in a great degree lost religious faith. In proportion, as both Empires had drifted farther away from true Christianity,

Mohammedanism had grown stronger. After seizing the Greek Empire and its capital, Constantinople, and destroying Christianity in so large a region of the globe (even where the seven churches of the Apocalypse had existed), the Turks attacked the German Empire. But the furious Mohammed II. and the magnificent Solyman did not know that their real mission here was, not to destroy Christianity, but to save it from annihilation by the Roman Church. At the fall of Constantinople, all the Greek population who could escape, fled in thousands from the Turkish conqueror and brought into Italy and Western Europe a taste for the Greek language, literature, and art. Germany profited largely by this influx of knowledge; but with the classical learning flowed in, also, the demoralization of the rotten Byzantine Empire.

Erasmus, 1467.

Greek scholars arose; Erasmus, born in 1467, published the New Testament in Greek, with a commentary, which attracted many to the study of the Bible.

Reuchlin, born 1455.

Reuchlin wrote the first Hebrew grammar, by which the study of the Old Testament was facilitated, and the mind of the learned brought back to the sources of Christianity, in contradistinction to the audacious innovations and additions of Rome, rendered possible only by the ignorance of the masses.

Discovery of America, etc., 1492.

We can scarcely imagine how excited men must have been by the occurrence of such events as the discovery of America, the driving of the Saracens out of Spain, the discovery of the way to India by the Cape of Good Hope (1498); and the demonstration of the true shape of our globe by the Portuguese navigator Magellan (1519), almost at the

very time when Luther began to thunder against Papacy. The route to India by way of the Cape had been first tried by explorers as daring as Columbus. They were affrighted by tremendous storms, and by reports that they would come upon a region inhabited by gigantic sea-monsters; that the southern ocean consisted of boiling water, and that a ship venturing too far in that direction would sail off the end of the earth into bottomless vacuity.

Conquest of Mexico, 1521; Peru, 1541.

As the Reformation proceeded, other startling events took place. Mexico was conquered by Cortez, and Peru by Pizarro. The atrocious horrors committed by these two adventurers associated the Christian Church, in the minds of the unfortunate savages, with inhuman crimes and black vices.

Copernicus, born February 19, 1473.

The most astounding discovery of the century was the one proclaimed by Copernicus, that our globe, which, for a thousand years, science had declared to be the fixed center of the universe, was, in fact, only a comparatively insignificant planet, daily revolving upon its axis, and flying in its annual journey around the sun, at the rate of sixty thousand miles an hour.

Kepler, born 1571.

Telescope.

While Copernicus discovered the movements of the planets, and Kepler the laws regulating those movements, a Dutch optician invented the telescope, which opened to the inhabitants of the earth far-reaching views into yet unknown regions, and awakened the hope that by constructing an instrument one or two miles in length, the eyes of mortals would be able to reach "the heavens, the Heaven of heavens, and the waters that be above

the heavens." The thoughtful reader will ask himself: Is it possible that other equally unimaginable discoveries and inventions may yet be made?

Universities, High-schools, etc.

The universities and high-schools, already existing in the fourteenth century, had increased at the breaking out of the Reformation. In one little town, there was a school numbering nine hundred scholars. A new movement had taken place in all the departments of science and thought, and this now began to extend over wider regions. The teachings of Wycliffe and Huss, of Arnold of Brescia, Savonarola, and other persecuted preachers of the Gospel, had not been forgotten; they now appeared in a clearer light, and prepared the way for coming events. A more careful study of the Bible among the learned was another sign of the times, and brought out the striking contrast between the sinful life of the clergy and the consistent holiness of Christianity. The historic events, some of which we have mentioned, awakened new ideas and exercised an influence, as great as that of the breezes and sunshine of spring over the wintry earth, so long locked in snow and ice. Indeed, as the world appeared prepared for the advent of Jesus by the unity of the Roman Empire, by growing facilities for travel and for the spreading of ideas, by extraordinary depths of immorality and misery, as well as by the failure of the ancient religion to render any assistance or consolation, so circumstances again prepared the way for Luther. The establishment of the postal system, the invention of printing, the foundation of universities, particularly that of Wittenberg, just fifteen years before the publication of Luther's Theses, enabled the Reformer to speak, not only to his own congregation, but to mankind.

The Church, for a time, had been a source of blessing and light: now, the bride had abandoned the bridegroom and lived in open sin with the world. She had lost all sense of shame and faith in the Scriptures. The Gospel was used as a machine for making money and obtaining power. Compare Popes, Bishops, Councils, Emperors, Diets, nobles, knights, priests, monks, etc., with the Sermon on the Mount: "*Blessed are the poor in spirit; the meek; they who hunger and thirst after righteousness; the pure in heart; the merciful; the peacemakers; they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake,*" etc.

The Church.

For her temporal splendor, her costly monuments of architecture, her munificent encouragement of art, and for the private aggrandizement and voluptuous pleasures of the Popes and their adherents, the Church required a large income, and had used every effort, right and wrong, to increase it. In the time of the Crusades, the fiefs of the nobles had been continually in the market for sale, or mortgage. The Popes had profited by the occasion, to purchase at great advantage. The rich were taught (particularly the sick and the dying), that by donations and bequests to the Church they offered acceptable atonement for their sins. Innocent IV. (1243) showed his treasures to Thomas Aquinas. "*You see,*" remarked the Pope, "*I can not, like Peter, say, Silver and gold have I none.*" "*No,*" replied the holy man; "*neither can you say: Arise and walk.*"

Riches of the Church.

Roman Catholic writers themselves give testimony as to what Rome was at the time of Luther. For instance: *God has ceased to exist there. The only God is Mammon. Every man is a thief.*

Immorality.

The seat of St. Peter is sunk in voluptuous debauchery. The Church is sick unto death. It is plague-stricken; recovery seems impossible, etc.

Heresies.

While so ardent in extirpating heresies, the Church was itself the real heretic. During the first three centuries of its existence, it had maintained essentially the Bible doctrine as preached by Paul and the other apostles. Errors at last mingled with these pure teachings; an ever-increasing tide of immorality flowed in through the opened gates. From 900 to 1500, this corruption reached its height. Among the heresies were the following:

I. The Pope, by special authority from the Holy Spirit, was declared to stand alone and above all other powers and persons of the earth, and above the Bible; the sole infallible vicegerent of Christ. His word must be received without dispute by all mankind as spoken by Christ himself.

II. The Scriptures were withheld from the people.

III. Doctrines were taught not to be found in the Holy Writ; among others, that God's truth was revealed not only in the sacred books, but in traditions received by word of mouth from Jesus himself and from his apostles; and that Christians were as much bound by these traditions as by the written word. The Reformers held, on the contrary, that the Holy Scripture contains all that is necessary for salvation.

IV. Forgiveness of sin could be obtained by various good works; pilgrimages to Jerusalem or Rome, or to holy places, where spurious objects were exhibited as relics worthy of veneration, by donations to the Church, entering a cloister or nunnery, going on a crusade, taking part in a war ordered by the Pope, etc.

V. The worship of and prayers to the Virgin Mary and to saints, as saviors and mediators.

VI. The Holy Communion was administered only in one form; the bread was given to the people, but the cup of which Christ had said: "*Drink ye all of it,*" was reserved for the priest alone. The Church thus expressed the claim of the priest to be separated from the layman, and to stand on a higher plane.

VII. A still greater heresy appeared in the doctrine of the mass, which was taught to be, each time, a new, real expiatory sacrifice of Christ's body for the living and the dead, contrary to Christ's own declaration on the cross: "*It is finished.*" The Church thus denied the completeness of Christ's sacrifice, and conferred upon the priest a power which God had given to no creature.

VIII. The sale of indulgences, or certificates of absolution, was no less a heresy. All Germany, at different times, had been visited by messengers of the Pope provided with blank certificates of absolution, inscribed on parchment, and adorned with the great pontifical seal. Church-bells were rung as these charlatans appeared in the streets, crying aloud: "*Forgiveness of sins! Come! Buy! Salvation of the soul! Buy! Buy!*" Just as in London, we hear the cries: "*Hot muffins! Fine white sand!*" Prices varied: A prince paid twenty-five florins; a count or baron, ten; commoners, six; a day-laborer, one. Vast sums collected in this scandalous fashion flowed into the Papal treasury, to be squandered in vilest debauchery.

IX. *Transubstantiation!* The consecrated wafer, said to be actually transformed into the true body of Christ, was raised on high in sight of the people, who, by the

ringing of a bell, were called to kneel before the host, as to an object of adoration.

X. Whoever attempted to dispute the divine authority of these Papal decrees and practices, was declared guilty of a deadly sin, and against his head a formidable bull was launched, which consigned his body to the flames, and his soul to hell.

Church and State united against Christianity.

Thousands, in all classes, throughout Germany felt their deep degradation and the pressing need of help; but the Papal party had determined, without examination, without mercy, to crush every attempt at reform; and in this, as we have seen (and may we never again see), the Empire and the Papacy went hand in hand. Whatever other differences separated them, in this they were perfectly agreed. Inconceivable transformation! That Christian Church which, during its first three hundred years, had so heroically suffered martyrdom rather than deny the Gospel, now, itself seated on the throne of the world, denying that same Gospel, and, with the cruelty of a Galerius, devoting to martyrdom, not pagan unbelievers (which would be bad enough), but Christian believers!

A brief sketch of the last six Popes who preceded the Reformation will yet further illustrate the position.

Sixtus IV., 1471-1484.

Pope Sixtus IV. was one of the first who openly laid aside all pretension to spiritual purity, and boldly entered upon the path of temporal ambition. His reign was marked by nepotism, the establishment of a Spanish inquisition, and the imposition of heavy taxes. He was accused of complicity in the assassination of Julian of Medici. During divine service, at the moment when the host was raised, and every head bowed to the ground, the con-

spirators stabbed their victim, and left him dead on the altar steps.

Innocent VIII., 1484-1492.

Innocent VIII. reigned eight years. He had sixteen illegitimate children, upon all of whom he freely bestowed the treasures of the Church.

Alexander VI., 1492-1503.

"Pope Sixtus IV.," says Ranke, "was surpassed in licentiousness by Alexander VI., whose debasing sensuality can not be regarded without horror and loathing." This man, a Spaniard of the Borgia family, the most infamous of all the Popes, and the vilest prince of that age, obtained the Papal chair through bribery, and devoted his energies exclusively to the work of founding a principality for his family; his instruments were poison and the dagger. His accomplices were his children, Cesare and Lucretia.

Savonarola, 1498.

Savonarola, an earnest reformer, a sincere preacher against Church abuses, was burned at Florence by order of Alexander. During the reign of this Pope, Rome was a veritable hell. His son, Cesare Borgia, can best be described as an incarnation of the devil. He murdered his brother, and threw his body into the Tiber. His brother-in-law offended him; Cesare's ruffians stabbed him on the steps of his own palace. The wounded man was not killed, he recovered; but as he was sitting with his family, Cesare burst into the room with a common executioner, and caused his victim to be strangled to death. He slew his father's instrument, Pirotto, in the presence of the Pope. The wretch clung to Alexander's mantle for protection, but fell dead beneath the demon's dagger, in spite of the cries of the Pope, who was himself covered with blood. Cesare was personally of splendid beauty and extraordi-

nary physical strength. There was in his character, on occasions, a certain grandeur such as Milton gives to Satan. During Alexander's administration, corpses of murdered men were continually seen floating down the Tiber; yet none dared to speak, lest the yellow stream should the next night carry their bodies also down to the sea. They whom the dagger could not reach were taken off by poison. On the sudden death of distinguished men, the people always suspected the Pope. The Cardinal of Verona having died suddenly, Alexander placed guards around his house, and the Romans believed that the Pope had murdered him to seize his wealth. "Even at that time," says Ranke, "men complained that the Pope was preparing the way for the antichrist, and laboring for Satan rather than for God."

The circumstances of Alexander's death are well authenticated. He intended to poison, at a feast, one of his richest Cardinals. The design was betrayed to the Cardinal, who bribed the Pope's cook; the poisoned dish was placed before the Pontiff himself, who partook of it, and died in consequence.

There is a diseased tendency, under the idea of historic impartiality and philosophical superiority, to explain away the sin of evil men, and at the same time, the merit of the good. A class of writers deny that there is any difference at all between right and wrong; man is a mere creature of circumstances, and upon this assumed premise they build their system. These are sophists, by whom morality, religion, God, and any thing may be easily overthrown. But the premise is false. Man is *not* a creature of circumstances. A leaf upon the ocean waves is a creature of circumstances; but a properly built ship, furnished with all that is necessary for safe sailing, a

pilot, a chart, a compass, a rudder, the stars above, and a haven of safety at the end of her course, is not, like the leaf, a creature of circumstances. How comes it then, asks the sophist, that with all her equipments, the ship is sometimes wrecked? Answer: Because every ship does not understand, or properly use her equipments. She has, perhaps, sailed without a chart. She has thrown her compass overboard. She has neglected to take her observation, and does not know her latitude and longitude.* Her pilot has been mistaken or asleep, or he was playing cards and drinking in the cabin. But even admitting the power of circumstances over every ship, man is as different a creature from a ship, as a ship from a leaf. He may, if he will, have a compass and a chart which, when carefully consulted, never can fail; and a pilot who never sleeps, who never can be mistaken or unfaithful; and who can, and will at last, guide him safe into port through the heaviest storms. Man is a creature of circumstances only when he rejects this pilot, and persists in steering his ship himself. The rationalist, the materialist, the atheist, are creatures of circumstances. Nero was a creature of circumstances. Paul was not a creature of circumstances. The sophist proves his case by not only adopting a false premise, but by excluding all evidence of a higher power. Some modern historians soften the portrait of Alexander VI., and depict him as a moral man, honored by his subjects. The above particulars of his life are gleaned from Ranke's "History of the Popes." We can not doubt that Alexander and his son were monsters, and the interest of mankind and

* A British Admiral, some years ago, on a calm, bright morning, ran his ship against a well-known rock in the Mediterranean. He pleaded in defense: "*I thought I knew where I was, and did not consult my chart!*"

genuine historic impartiality require that the portrait of such persons should not be flattered.*

Pius III. died almost as soon as elected. His successor, Julius II., a tricky intriguer, but a brave soldier, was remarkable for his martial spirit, and sometimes indulged in the unapostolic delight of leading in person his troops on the battle-field. After a reign of ten years, he was succeeded by Leo X. But before we enter upon this new reign, we must give some further account of Luther and his mission.

Pius III., 1503.

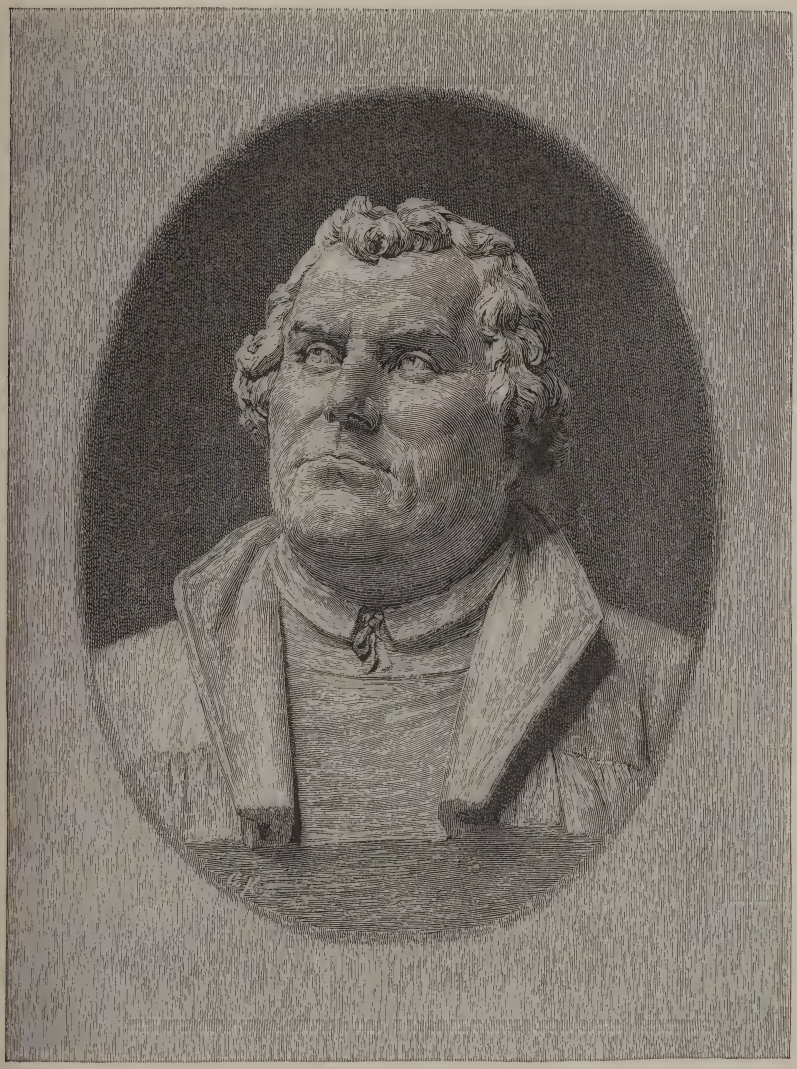
Julius II., 1503-1513.

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, in Saxony. His father, a poor peasant of very stern character, noticed his bright disposition, and sent him to the Franciscan Latin school at Eisenach. Here, like other students, the boy had to beg his bread, singing from door to door, often suffering from hunger; and here Frau Cotta, struck with his melodious voice and earnest manner, adopted him into her family, and permitted him to eat at her table. Among his studies, his favorite was music. In 1501, his father sent him to the High University-school at Erfurt. One day, looking for some book in the University library, he came upon a volume which he had never seen before, and which, according to some, was chained to its place. It was a Latin Bible. He read passage after passage with delight, astonished to discover how much more the Book contained than the fragments of Gospels and Epistles which, until that moment, he believed to constitute the whole of the

Martin Luther.

* "Je ne sais rien nommer si ce n'est pas par son nom:
J'appelle un chat, un chat; et Rolet, un fripon."
—Boileau.
"I can not name any thing without calling it by its right name:
I call a cat, a cat; and Rolet, a scoundrel."

Scriptures. His diligence and learning caused him, in time, to be promoted to the office of *magister*, or teacher. In 1505, in a fearful thunder-storm, the lightning struck near him; he was thrown to the ground, and cried: "*Help, St. Anna, and I will become a monk.*" Thus he entered the Augustine cloister, where he suffered hard treatment, and was again obliged to beg from door to door, till Dr. Staupitz, the Vicar of the order, became his friend. He was the only scholar in the convent who read the Bible; and he thus gradually learned how far the Church had wandered from the teachings of the Sacred Book. Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, had charged Staupitz to select several professors for the newly-founded University at Wittenberg; Luther was appointed Professor of philology, philosophy, and theology. Here his explanations of the Bible, and the boldness and power with which he brought out the Gospel truth, as resting on prophecy and interpreted by the Epistles, excited universal attention, and he was asked to speak from the pulpit. This he absolutely and ingenuously refused, pleading inability, unworthiness, and weakness. But Staupitz, who appreciated his powers, put an end to the struggle by affectionately slapping his hand down on the table, saying: "*Martin, du musst!*" (Martin, thou must.) Luther obeyed. The Bishop who ordained him said, in Latin, as he handed him the cup: "*Receive the power to sacrifice for the living and the dead.*" Luther afterward declared that, on hearing these words, he wondered the earth had not opened and swallowed both Bishop and priest. And now, for the first time, after so long a period of silence, the Gospel was honestly and fearlessly preached in its length, breadth, height, and depth. "This monk," said his hearers, "will overthrow all the doctors



MARTIN LUTHER,

The Monk of Wittenberg.

of the Church. He stands on the prophets and on the words of Jesus as on a rock." He happened to be sent to Rome upon some business connected with his order, at the time when Julius II. was Pope. On approaching the Eternal City, Luther cried out: "Hail to thee, O holy Rome!" And on reaching St. Peter's, he ascended on his knees the twenty-eight sacred steps which, the priests informed him, had once led to Pilate's judgment-seat. His astonishment was unutterable on discovering the true state of things. He found the idolatry in Rome greater than that which had stirred Paul in Athens. While he was reading one mass, the other priests got through seven. They laughingly cried: "*Go ahead, brother Martin; send the son of Mary quickly back to his mother!*" In short, in the very heart of the Church, he found nothing but mocking incredulity and shameless immorality. He returned to Wittenberg a wiser and a sadder man.

Leo X., 1513-1522.

Leo X., the successor of the warlike Julius II., although not like Alexander VI. stained with bloody crimes, was a wordling, a voluptuary, and a heretic among heretics. He once said: "We all know how useful the fable of Christ has proved to us." In this spirit, he issued an order that no sermon longer than fifteen minutes should be preached in Rome. He is praised by historians for personal qualities, and as a patron of art and science, as if this were the principal criterion by which a man, and still more a Pope, ought to be judged. His course with regard to the sale of indulgences shows what an Augean stable the Church had become.

In order to procure money to build the great St. Peter's Church, and for his voluptuous private extravagances,

Leo X. had recourse to a new sale of indulgences, and appointed Archbishop Albert of Mayence chief collector of funds in Germany. The prelate stipulated for half the amount, and sent a Dominican monk, John Tetzel, a man of business, to collect the money. Tetzel presented himself just at the time when, like a traveler who, at last, from the mountain-top, surveys, with rapture, the far-extending landscape, Luther, for the first time, had caught a view of the immensity, the reality, the eternal grandeur of the Gospel revelation. The impudence of Tetzel, the credulity of the people, and the indignation of the nobler and more enlightened Germans, may be imagined from the fact, that Tetzel exhibited, with a certain degree of success, a genuine feather from a wing of the angel Gabriel. Thousands crowded around him. As an auctioneer glorifies his wares, so Tetzel glorified his commodities. They were sometimes, with greater solemnity, held up for sale in churches. Tetzel preached in many towns and villages of North Germany. Let us imagine one of these services. The church is crowded to overflowing with prelates, princes, knights, monks, tradesmen, peasants, students of philosophy, intelligent women, innocent young girls, gray-headed old men. A considerable portion of the hearers consists of those who have come to buy. Yonder is a ruffian who can not sleep at night, for the cries of his murdered victim. Here stands a poverty-stricken old woman; her son was killed while robbing a traveler, and the thought of the flames of purgatory haunt her. She has brought her last gulden to deliver him. There stands a youth of insolent demeanor. He intends to commit a murder, and seeks to purchase absolution in advance. Here is a young girl, pale with fasting and vigils; her shoulders

Tetzel.

have been scourged till she fainted, in atonement for her sins, yet she has not found rest.

In the nave of the church, a great cross has been erected; upon it, the congregation behold a crown of thorns, the nails, the spear, and sometimes the still-flowing blood of the Saviour. Before the cross is a large iron chest, open to receive contributions; on one side, a table with writing materials, at which sit several priests, receiving, counting guldens, and filling up blank briefs of indulgences.

The popular preacher at length enters and ascends the pulpit. The congregation is hushed in attention. Perhaps the text is one which we have often heard, treated in quite a different way: "*Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest; take my yoke upon you and learn of me!*" The preacher paints the sin and misery of the world, and the mercy of God in providing a means of safety. His discourse is a mixture of Scripture truth and deadly falsehood. He is a wolf in sheep's clothing. "The many-blessed saints," he says, "who have gone before us to that unseen world, have, during their sojourn upon our earth, performed more good works than were necessary for their salvation. They have not only saved their own souls, but left a treasure of superfluous merits for the salvation of others. These merits have been accumulating from century to century; they have become a vast treasury of peace and pardon, and God has given this treasury into the keeping of the Holy Church. The Pope is his vicegerent, and holds the key of those treasures in his hand. He can place them to your credit, as though you had performed these works yourself; he has thus the power to absolve you from all your sins. He offers on this day pardon for

every sinner and every sin; yea, pardon for the sins of those who have already gone into the place of punishment. From the moment your money clinks in the chest, you are washed from all your transgressions; your friend is delivered from the flames of purgatory. Repentance, indeed, is necessary for pardon, but it can not avail without a certificate of absolution," etc.

The following is a copy of one of the indulgence-certificates:

"I absolve thee from all the excesses, sins, and crimes thou hast committed, however great and enormous they may be. I remit the pains thou mightest have had to endure in purgatory. I restore thee to the participation of the sacraments. I incorporate thee afresh into the communion of the Church. I restore thee to the innocence and purity which were thine at the time of thy baptism, so that at the moment of thy death, the gate by which souls pass into the place of torment will be shut for thee, while, on the contrary, that which leads to the paradise of joy will be open to thee. And, if thou art not called to die soon, this grace may remain unaltered until the time of thy latter end.

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"Friar John Tetzel has signed it with his own hand."

The following anecdote is related of Tetzel: One morning he promised the congregation that, on the subsequent day, he would show them the feather from the wing of the angel Gabriel. During the night, to play him a trick, some one stole the feather from its case, and substituted a piece of coal. Without opening the case, Tetzel went into the church the next morning, and delivered an address about the wonderful relic which he was about to exhibit. He opened the case, but instead of the feather, behold! there was a piece of coal. Without losing his presence of mind, he exclaimed: "Ah! among the many sacred relics in my possession, I have taken the wrong one. Instead of the feather from the

wing of the angel Gabriel, I have brought a piece of the coal upon which Saint Lawrence was roasted!"

This was the man, with his absolution certificates and his Gabriel feather, whom the Pope and the Bishop of Mayence, the latter a member of the Electoral College, had sent to replenish the Papal treasury. Thousands regarded the abomination with disgust. But the Pope was a mighty power, and there was no knowing what the Emperor Maximilian might do. Every previous attempt at Church reform had been mercilessly crushed. Many peasants, citizens, and princes felt that the time had come for a change; but who would dare to begin! One man spoke out in God's name—Martin Luther. He preached energetically from his pulpit against these blasphemies, and at last publicly affixed on the gates of the old palace-church of Wittenberg, ninety-five Theses (declarations); among which were the following: "Pardon can not be obtained for money. If the Pope can deliver souls from hell, why does he not do it without a price in gold? Forgiveness of sins can be obtained only from God through Christ, without money and without price, by means of true repentance and faith. The Pope has no power to remit a sinner's punishment after death." To these ninety-five theses, Luther, according to the usage in Universities, added that he was ready to discuss them, either verbally or in writing, with any who might so desire. This was the beginning of the Reformation, which, it is sometimes said, lasted thirty-five years, but which, in fact, convulsed the Empire for one hundred and thirty years, and finally gave it its death-blow. Indeed, we are appalled when we trace the consequences of this mighty event in Germany, Italy, England, Spain, France, the

Ninety-five Theses, October 31, 1517.

Netherlands, etc. Never did man, with a single spark, kindle a wider and more fearful conflagration than did Luther by this daring act.

The theses were hailed with one universal shout of triumph on one side, of indignation on the other. By means of the newly-invented art of printing, copies were multiplied in immense numbers. Within fourteen days, they spread through Germany; and four weeks later, says a historian, "as if the very angels had become messengers, they were being read by thousands throughout Christendom." Luther sent a copy to Pope Leo X., with a respectful letter, deploring the scandal caused by Tetzel, and hoping that his Holiness would recall the latter. Tetzel replied to the theses with feeble arguments and insolent threats, and caused them to be publicly burned. The Wittenberg students retaliated by burning Tetzel's denunciations. All this burning added fuel to the flames. At the commencement of his work, Luther had no desire to overthrow the Roman Church, but only to obtain necessary reforms. He counted upon the co-operation of the Pope and Bishops. He believed those abuses to have arisen from insufficient or careless study of the Scriptures, and that upon re-examination, the authority of the sacred volume would be acknowledged. Only by degrees the discovery broke upon him, that the Church, as a church, did not acknowledge the authority of the Scriptures, and did not wish existing abuses to cease.

Cardinal Cajetan, 1518.

Leo X. answered Luther's letter by summoning him to Rome, where, no doubt, the fagots were ready to silence his arguments. In case Luther should disregard the summons, Leo requested Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, to arrest

and send the culprit prisoner to Rome. The fair-minded Frederic answered: "*The matter could be better settled in Germany.*" The Emperor Maximilian also declined to sanction the arrest of Luther. The sale of indulgences had called out some free remarks at the Diet of Augsburg, and Maximilian, not perhaps altogether opposed to the Reformation, thought, moreover, that Luther might be used as an instrument against Leo. With such protectors and delays, the Reformation had time to extend. Leo was too much sunk in his sensual life to understand the large proportions of the question. He instructed his Legate to the German Diet at Augsburg, Cardinal Cajetan, to summon Luther before the Diet; and, if he could not stop the fellow's mouth by arguments, threats, or promises, to lay him and his whole family under the ban. Luther, notwithstanding the pleading and warning of his friends, determined to comply with the summons, and accordingly repaired to Augsburg. On presenting himself at the palace of Cajetan, the Cardinal demanded the instant recantation of his heretical writings. Luther replied by offering to retract any thing he had taught which could be shown to be contrary to the Scriptures. An earnest discussion ensued, till Luther declared, that he appealed to the Pope. "*De Papa male informato, ad Papam melius informandum*" (from the Pope badly informed, to the Pope to be better informed). The Cardinal, humiliated by the refutation of all his arguments, and finding that, instead of reducing Luther to silence, he had himself been worsted in the argument, broke off the interview in a rage, crying out: "*I will no longer speak with that beast!*" He now renewed his demand for the surrender of Luther, but the Emperor and Frederic remained firm in their denial. Cajetan had the fair-

ness to admit: "The fellow is deep-sighted, and has wonderful ideas." An attempt was now made to bribe Luther into silence. Money and honors were offered him, as they had been to Huss, if he would only hold his tongue. He refused. There were now indications of a plot against his life. At his friends' request, a gate of the town was secretly opened, and mounting a good horse, like Paul fleeing from the assassins in Jerusalem, he left the city by night. His enemies cried out: "*The German beast cares neither for gold, nor honors!*"

Dr. Eck.

Dr. Eck, in answer to Luther's original challenge, now presented himself for a public disputation at Leipsic. Subject: "*The Rights of the Pope.*" This was a trap contrived to catch Luther; but Eck fell into it himself. He had hoped to betray his opponent into an admission, that an attack on the Pope's authority was sacrilegious; or, in case this should fail, into such bold contrary assertions as might justify his condemnation. But Luther, in preparing himself for the disputation, had obtained from the Scriptures still clearer views of the truth, and provided more unanswerable proofs. Instead of withdrawing his denunciation of the dogma of infallibility, he reiterated it in a more positive form, and justified it by such Scriptural quotations as could not be denied without denying the Scriptures themselves. The discussion lasted fourteen days, and was carried on before an immense audience. The following may serve as a specimen:

"You refuse," cried Eck, "to abide by the authority of the head of the Church?" "No," replied Luther, "I am bound to obey his word."—"Then acknowledge the infallibility of the Pope, and obey him; for he is the head of the Church!"—"The Pope is not the head of the Church!"

—"The Pope not the head of the Church?—who, then, is?"—"Jesus Christ is the head of the Church. He alone is infallible," cried Luther; and he supported his assertions by numerous passages from the Bible, as well as by declarations from apostolic Fathers of the Church. Among other assertions, he plainly said: *Huss had been burned for uttering truths taught by Jesus Christ.* It was thus Eck, and not Luther, who was caught in a dilemma. He had only two alternatives; either to recognize Jesus as head of the Church, and deny the Pope's assumption of the title, or accept the Pope, and deny Jesus. Instead of compelling Luther to a recantation of his denial of Papal infallibility, he drove him to a formal declaration that Pope and Ecumenical Councils were equally liable to error. Among the crowds of listeners were learned professors, intelligent monks, and thoughtful, fair-minded princes, who drank in new ideas. Eck, and all the other public defenders of Church abuses, only succeeded in making the weakness of their cause more apparent. Eck departed for Rome, and on his report, Leo launched a bull against Luther, denouncing him as a "damned heretic," denying him every right to honor, property, and life. The works of Luther were publicly burned in Rome and in other places.

On his arrival at Leipsic, the bearer of this bull barely escaped being torn to pieces by the people. A few days afterward, Luther publicly burned the bull before the Elster gate of Wittenberg. All the students of the University, and a large portion of the inhabitants, witnessed the ceremony with hearty approval. With his own hands, Luther cast the bull into the flames, uttering these words: "*Weil du den Heiligen Gottes betrübt hast, so verzehre dich das*

Luther burns the Papal bull, Dec. 10, 1520.

ewige Feuer!" (Because thou hast grieved the Holy One of God, let eternal fire consume thee.) This was a declaration of war.

Tetzel's Defenders.

Various advocates of the wrong cause, chivalric champions of falsehood, came forth ready-armed for combat, to prove that two and two make five, and that Tetzel's indulgence-tickets were the true way to salvation. Some of their names have come down to us: Conrad Wimpina (Tetzel's intimate friend), Sylvester Priarius, Jacob Hoogstratten. Such men spring up on such occasions, in all times and countries; they are not unknown in our own. To them is due the propagation of such maxims as these: "We have a right to pay a just national debt in depreciated coin." —"A debt due merely to a foreigner need not be paid at all."—"When the country's welfare is threatened by armed rebellion, the President has no right to recruit troops," etc., etc.

Death of Tetzel, 1519.

Tetzel's public career and private immorality brought upon him universal odium in North Germany. He boasted that by the sale of indulgences, he had saved more souls than Peter with the Gospel. The better part of the Roman Catholics, at last regarded his mission as a disgrace, and the Pope's newly-appointed nuncio, Miltitz, at length formally disavowed him. Disappointment, shame, and, let us hope, remorse, finally broke his heart; he died in Leipsic, at the age of fifty-nine, two years after the publication of the Theses; but not until Luther had sent him a letter, written in all Christian love and forgiveness, recommending the wanderer to divine mercy, and pointing the way to Him who alone can absolve from sin. A German writer has described the reception of

this letter by Tetzel, when dying in his cell, attended by two or three Dominican friars:

"In fear of approaching death, Tetzel turns away from the idle consolations offered by his brethren: 'Remember,' cries one, 'thou art a distinguished brother of our most zealous order: the Holy Father himself has absolved thee from thy sins!' Tetzel groans, and turns his face to the wall. 'All the supererogatory works of the saints who have come before thee,' says another, 'have been registered to thy credit.' Tetzel replies: 'I see nothing but darkness and despair.' 'Think of the many souls thou hast saved from perdition by selling them indulgences!' suggests a third. He groans again. 'God have mercy upon me!' They are interrupted by a knock. A messenger enters with a letter. 'From Luther,' exclaims a brother, 'thy greatest enemy! Does he insult thee in thy dying hour?' 'I will hear what he says,' replies Tetzel. 'Read! read!' As he listens, new life flows through his veins. Luther speaks words only of comfort and promises of pardon; he preaches Jesus and the resurrection. It is yet time to hear: 'Come unto me, and I will give you rest.' For the first time in his life, the dying sinner sees the Gospel in its true light, and with his last sigh exclaims: '*The night is gone, the morning breaks.*'"

Melanchthon.

At the age of twenty-one, a modest, shy, inefficient-looking youth, called Melanchthon, was appointed by the Elector Frederic, Professor of Greek at the University of Wittenberg, on the recommendation of the learned Reuchlin. Luther, who had just entered upon his tremendous struggle, needed a Hercules at his side, and looked down upon the newcomer with disappointment, if not contempt. He, no

doubt, afterward remembered the passage: "*The Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart.*" As Melanchthon's extraordinary qualifications became apparent, an intimate friendship arose between the two men. The very circumstances which had led Luther to underrate Melanchthon,—namely, the absence of those fiery elements which marked himself,—constituted the real worth of his quiet friend.

Three candidates for the Imperial Crown.

About this time, as already stated, Maximilian I. died. Three powerful candidates now aspired to the German throne: Francis I. of France, Henry VIII. of England, and Charles V., King of Spain, Naples, and the Netherlands—three unprincipled men, all willing to use evil means, in order to obtain the coveted prize. While their respective claims were being considered by the College of Electors, Frederic, Elector of Saxony, was chosen Regent of the Empire, and shortly afterward the Electors offered him the crown. His wisdom and honesty, so strikingly contrasting with the characteristics of the three royal candidates, seemed to have impressed his colleagues with the fact, that, while seeking a sovereign in foreign lands, they had one in their midst superior to all others. Frederic declined the proffered honor, and, after careful consideration, decided the question by recommending Charles V.

Why Frederic refused the crown and proposed Charles.

We are struck at this period by the important part again played by Saxony in the affairs of the Empire, and by the genuine grandeur of Frederic's character. Both Charles and his grandfather, Maximilian I., had long been intriguing to secure the election of Charles.

After Maximilian's death, Charles doubled his bribes; but Frederic could not be bought. It was, perhaps, this circumstance which awakened the conviction among the other Electors, that Frederic himself would be the best Emperor. They offered him the crown. He declined it, and named Charles. His vote decided the question. Among his reasons were the following: "*The Empire is in danger. We must seek the strongest hand to defend it. The Turks are advancing upon us. I have not, neither has any other German prince, the wealth and power necessary to oppose successfully this formidable foe. Francis and Charles are both strong enough to defend us; but some considerations weigh in favor of Charles. By the lands inherited from his grandfather* (*Maximilian*), *the King of Spain is already an Imperial German prince;** *the seat of his ancestors is in our own country; his family domains lie on our threatened eastern frontier. Therefore, let Charles be the German Emperor; but let all danger be averted, and German liberty secured by careful stipulations and laws.*"

Conditions on which Charles V. was elected German Emperor, June 20, 1519.

Among the conditions stated in the capitulation between Charles and the Electors were the following: Charles pledged himself to protect Christianity and the Roman Church against the Turks; to reform the Church abuses; not to encroach in any way on German liberty; to use all endeavors to procure from Rome the redress of German grievances; to form no alliances; engage in no foreign wars; impose no new taxes;

* Charles was the great-grandson of the Hapsburg Emperor Frederic III., and grandson of Maximilian I. His father, Maximilian's son, was the German Archduke Philip; his mother Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand, King of Aragon and Naples, and of Isabella, Queen of Castile. Charles was, therefore, partly German, partly Spanish. His mother had suffered from alienation of mind.

convoke no Diet; decree no laws without the Electors' consent; and to declare no one under the ban without granting him a hearing. Charles' plenipotentiaries accepted these conditions, swore obedience to them in his name, and formally appended their signatures to the document. Thus Germany, in some degree, secured that new constitution which it had vainly sought to obtain from Frederic III. and Maximilian I. Charles was unanimously elected. His election cost him twelve million thalers. The conditions imposed by the agreement were deemed necessary to prevent a powerful foreign prince from using Germany only as a stepping-stone for his private ambition. If power and wealth were qualifications, Charles was the man. He was the richest and most powerful prince of the globe (although often without means to repress an insurrection, and without money to pay his troops). A variety of immense inheritances had centered in his person. He was heir to all the possessions of the house of Hapsburg and to the Spanish Netherlands; he was, at the same time, King of Spain and Naples, of the vast Spanish colonies of America, Mexico, and the West Indies, also of California, now part of the United States. He could boast that the sun never set on his dominions. It is instructive to see how this fabric of greatness soon melted away.

During the Interregnum, the Reformation had made immense progress. Luther had issued several works, one entitled: "*The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*," showing how the Church was crushed under the power of the world, and held captive by the Prince of Darkness. In these works, he addressed Popes, Emperors, nobles, and people with Christian frankness; thundered against the sale of indulgences; laid bare the abominations in

the Church; denied the infallibility of Popes and Councils; and held up the Gospel as the only authority in spiritual matters. Luther had no idea of the immense consequences of his words. He was like a man who fires a pistol among the mountains, and stands astonished at the thundering echoes which roll back and forth from crag to crag. The population of Germany awoke at his call.

Charles V. convokes a Diet at Worms, January 28, 1521.

Charles was elected Emperor, June 27, 1519, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, October 20, 1520. He at once convoked a Diet, which met at Worms. It is often supposed that he convoked this Diet, in order to put an end to the religious controversy. This was not the case. He was far from realizing the vast proportions of the movement; and had he been left to himself would have paid it little attention. Luther hoped much from his accession, and hastened to send him a respectful letter, presenting the controversy in its true light. Charles took no notice of the letter, but the Electors called his attention to the subject. Luther had been placed under the ban by the Pope, and the princes demanded that he should have a hearing before the Diet. By the election agreement, they had a right to demand this. The Diet had been in session more than a month when the Emperor summoned Luther to appear before it, furnishing him a safe-conduct, hoping hastily to dispose of the affair, and thus gain time to attend to what he considered more important matters. It is often the error, not only of sovereigns, but of humbler individuals, that they regard important things as insignificant, while trivial matters are treated as if they were of eternal consequence. Charles thought Luther would not

dare to come,—his absence would then destroy his influence; or that, if he did appear, awe-struck at the imposing array of Emperor, Princes, Bishops, etc., he would abandon his attempt to meddle with matters above his reach.

Luther before the Diet of Worms, 1521.

It might be supposed that the fate of Huss, although a century had passed, would be a warning to Luther. Huss also had received a safe-conduct. Luther's friends implored him not to go. He declared that, even if the tiles on all the house-roofs in Worms were so many devils, he would nevertheless appear before the Diet. His fame was great. The slow enthusiasm of the German people had been stirred to life. His friends were becoming every day more numerous. His journey to Worms was a triumph which recalled that of Huss to Constance. Crowds continually gathered around him. He addressed to them words of comfort and light. He blessed little children. Sometimes enemies came to scoff, and were turned into friends when they conversed with him. "*Are you the man who is to overthrow Popedom?*" asked a soldier. "*How do you expect to do that?*" "*I rely on Almighty God. I have His orders,*" was the answer. The soldier replied reverently: "*I serve the Emperor Charles, but your Master is greater than mine.*" He was continually warned with tears and sobs: "*You are going to the stake!*" But he yielded not to these warnings. We are struck with the resemblance of his words to those of Paul: "*What mean ye, to weep and to break mine heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die in Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus.*" On his arrival at Worms, one hundred horsemen met him outside of the town; two thousand people

collected at the city-gates to receive and escort him to his lodgings. On the other hand, the danger around him was threatening. For a thousand years, the Papal hierarchy had been building up its mighty structure, and under the blows of this daring heretic it was already shaking on its foundations. The Emperor looked upon Luther as a rebel, who might first overthrow the Church and then the throne. Luther had nevertheless friends, beside Frederic, among the princes in the Diet. This, if a security in one sense, was a danger in the other. There were honest politicians, who were willing to see both Pope and Emperor humbled, in the interest of the people; and there were, as we have already said, tremendous revolutionary forces at work among the population, waiting only a spark to explode. An ecclesiastical revolution could scarcely fail to become, also, a political one; and many who even went so far as to acknowledge that Luther's preaching was true to the Gospel, opposed him from fear that a sudden reform would plunge the country into a sanguinary civil war (which it did).

On the appointed day, when Luther passed from his lodgings to the Parliament-house, the streets were so crowded that he could not make his way. The Imperial herald who preceded him was obliged to take him through private houses and gardens. As they entered the hall of the Diet, Luther started back at the sight of the imposing majestic assembly, the splendid costumes, and the stern, malignant glances fixed upon him. But the veteran General Freundsberg touched his shoulder, and said: "*Little monk, you are marching to a battle such as no captain of our day has ever fought; but if you know you are right, forward in God's name! Be sure, He will never forsake you!*"

There, at length, stood the humble peasant, whose simple explanations of what he had read in the Word of God, had called up against him this formidable array. He stood at the bar of the German Empire and of the Roman Church. He stood in the presence of the Kingdom of this world, as Paul had stood before Agrippa; and a greater than Paul, before Caiaphas and Pilate. There was the mighty Emperor, who aspired to govern the world. There was the Archduke Ferdinand, afterward himself Emperor. Grouped around these sat the indignant and scowling Cardinals, Alexander and Colonna, representing the Pope; the Archbishop Albert of Mayence (Tetzel's accomplice); the old Duke of Alba; the Duke's son, then a boy of eleven, subsequently a general in Charles' army, and, later still, the merciless butcher of the Netherlands. There were six German Electoral Princes, twenty-eight Dukes, eleven Margraves, four Counts of the Empire, and thirty Bishops. In the Diet were many friends of Luther, among them his protector, Frederic of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, etc. The hall was crowded to overflowing. Around the building gathered at least five thousand persons, threatening a revolutionary outbreak; in their ranks, Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen; the latter, at the head of a considerable force. These were bold champions of political and religious liberty, but who, by openly joining the Reformation, had rather endangered than strengthened it.

The poor monk, who had almost starved to death in the streets of Eisenach; who had discovered the chained Bible in the University library at Erfurt; and who "relying on the Almighty," had determined to break the chain, was now called upon to confess and repent of his crime. Many thought he would retract; some, that he

would spoil all by impetuosity. No one was prepared for the calm dignity and respectful firmness of his demeanor, blending the resolution of Luther with the wisdom and gentleness of Melanchthon. A list of his writings was read to him, and the volumes presented for his inspection. The Chancellor asked if he had written those works. Luther replied: "Most gracious Emperor! gracious Princes and Lords! I acknowledge these books to have been written by me." The Chancellor then asked: "Will you retract them?" Luther replied: "This matter is so important, that I must beg time for consideration." He was allowed till the next evening at six. Returning to his lodgings, he passed a night of agonizing reflection and prayer. The world often looks upon Luther as a reckless, inflexible character. This is a mistake. By nature, he was diffident, modest, conscientious. His courage and voice had deserted him when he entered the pulpit to preach for the first time. The matter in hand was now indeed, as he had said, too important to be lightly decided; it was a matter of life and death. But this was not what caused him to hesitate. Was he doing right? Was he not inaugurating a civil war? Was he not impiously braving the Church? Was he not treasonably disobeying his Emperor? Was he not kindling in the world revolutionary principles? Yet, could he, at the command either of Emperor or Pope, deny what he knew to be the Word of God, and thus cause thousands of others to deny it? His prayers, at times uttered aloud through the night, were heard and written down by his companions in the lodging-house.

On the following day, he was taken again before the Diet. It was evening. The Chancellor once more asked him if he "still defended his writings, or if he were ready

to retract?" He replied: "*I can not retract! I have written them, preached them, and believed them to be true. I still believe them to be true. It would be a sin to retract them unless they can be shown to be false. I can not recognize any authority contrary to the Scriptures. I am willing to submit the points in dispute to competent judges, who, if my views are wrong, will be able to refute them.*" This the Emperor refused, demanding an immediate, positive, unconditional recantation. That was the supreme moment. A recantation seemed the only way to escape the fate of Huss. The auditors waited in breathless silence. Luther spoke: "*I can not retract. I reiterate every thing I have preached and published. Here I stand. I can not otherwise. God help me! Amen.*"

The Emperor had hoped at this Diet to terminate a troublesome, contemptible religious quarrel by extorting from Luther a public retractation. Instead of a retractation, it had brought forth a solemn, irrevocable reiteration. The most powerful sovereign of the earth had entered into a struggle with, as he thought, the weakest and lowest of his subjects, and had been overcome. Luther was not awe-struck; the assembly was awe-struck. Luther was not cowed; the Emperor was cowed. In the words of Dr. Emil Frommel: "Luther was not before the Diet, the Diet was before Luther. Two Emperors stood face to face; one from the mighty House of Hapsburg (with his 'great possessions'), the other from the House of God." At this moment, the Empire reached its highest point. In the person of Luther, she was fulfilling her noblest mission; that mission once intrusted to the Roman Church, and which she had betrayed. At the same time, the Empire had appeared in her lowest degradation:

Empire and Church, publicly and avowedly united, by brute force, to suppress the Scriptures, and to destroy liberty of conscience.

Luther's sudden disappearance while on his way back from Worms caused a report that he had been assassinated. He had, indeed, been overtaken by a troop of horsemen sent by Frederic of Saxony, to convey him to the Castle of Wartburg as a place of safety. Here he remained nearly a year, during which he employed himself in translating the Bible into German. There had been a translation into the Gothic, written by Bishop Ulfilas (348), of which only a few fragments are extant. We may remind the reader that the English translation, under James I., appeared nearly a hundred years later. Its excellence was no doubt due, in some degree, to Luther's previous labors in the Wartburg. (Luther's translation of the New Testament was first printed in 1522; the whole Bible in 1534. Hundreds of thousands were immediately called for. He could have realized immense profits, but would not accept any remuneration. Notwithstanding imperfections, such as mark every human work, his translation is one of the greatest monuments of human genius. By choosing the high German, instead of the low dialect of his time, he gave a permanent and noble form to the German language.)

Wartburg, May 5, 1521; March 7, 1522.

The current story that Luther once imagining the devil to stand by him, threw an inkstand at his head, is an invention. His labors at the Wartburg were interrupted by alarming news from Wittenberg: two Anabaptist fanatics, Münzer and Storck, had appeared in the town. Storck declared he had been visited in the night by the angel Gabriel, who said to him: "*Thou*

shalt be seated on my throne!" Riots had broken out; sacred images were torn down and burned. Even one of Luther's friends, Carlstadt, had joined the rioters. Luther suddenly appeared in Wittenberg, and quelled the agitation. He was here more efficient than the gentle Melanchthon. He told the crazy visionary and his companions: "*You are a set of liars; the angel Gabriel never spoke to you of his throne. The sooner you clear out of Wittenberg the better.*" They left; but we shall soon hear of them again.

Luther had taken a bold step in leaving the Wartburg. Without asking permission, or even giving notice, he withdrew from the shelter provided by his powerful protector, although still under the ban both of the Empire and the Church. He subsequently asked Frederic's pardon, adding, however, that he was always in the hands of God.

Luther under the ban of the Empire, May 8, 1521.

The Emperor was now earnestly urged to order Luther's arrest. True, he had given him a safe-conduct; but the Papal party ridiculed the idea of keeping faith with a heretic. Charles, however, replied: "We princes, of all men, must respect our promises. If good faith be banished from the entire world, it must still be found in a Roman Emperor." Notwithstanding these fine words, when we consider his subsequent course and all the circumstances, we must suppose his good faith to have been influenced by less lofty considerations. The Elector of Saxony, Frederic, who had placed the crown upon the head of Charles, was Luther's steady protector. The Emperor and the Pope were jealous of each other, and each afraid of taking an imprudent step. Luther's friends were increasing in number. His bearing before the Diet

had greatly strengthened his cause. But though Charles did not burn him, he nevertheless declared him an outlaw. Not daring to propose the ban to the fully assembled Diet (for there were among its members many powerful friends of the Reformation), he waited until the Elector Frederic, Philip of Hesse, General Freundsberg, and others had departed, and then, in their absence, passed the ban, antedating it seventeen days, as though it had been the act of the whole assembly. Several other edicts were issued, forbidding, under heavy penalties, all innovations in the doctrine and worship of the Roman Church. The ban branded Luther as "a devil in a human form, disguised under a monk's cowl, who had gathered a mass of damned heresies into one pestilential cess-pool." It declared that he taught a bestial life, and was spreading fire and murder throughout the land. Intercourse with him would be punished as treason. It was the sacred duty of every one to arrest him and deliver him to the Emperor. This document, known as the Edict of Worms, was drawn up by the Pope's Legate, Alexander. Charles has been praised for his considerate treatment of Luther; his moderation resulted not from humanity, but fear. The course pursued by him, when he could follow without restraint the dictates of passion and interest, justifies this assertion. That he was not influenced by humanity, is proved by his bloody deeds in the Netherlands. Two years after the Diet of Worms, he began his persecution of the Netherland (so-called) heretics. Henry Boes and John Esch were burned in Brussels, in 1523, and Baeker (Pistorius), in 1525. As the Reformation gained ground in the Netherlands, Charles attempted to crush it by more determined means, and, sup-

Burning of heretics in the Netherlands.

ported by the bigoted estates, he condemned thousands to the scaffold. The lowest estimate is fifty thousand. Some men and women were buried alive. Luther, no doubt, would have perished at the stake, and many others with him, had Charles not been afraid of the thoughtful, resolute German people, and too firmly bound by the election agreement.

Death of Leo X., 1522.

Leo X. died, it is believed, by poison, less than two years after Luther's appearance before the Diet. He had reigned about nine years. Thus vanished Leo X., suddenly, without time even to receive the sacrament. He had squandered immense treasures, and left enormous debts. His court was the brilliant center of art and science. Michael Angelo and Raphael executed some of their greatest works under his patronage; his reign is called the Golden Age of Italian art and literature,—the Golden Age of Leo X.! The thoughtful reader will be more apt to say: The Golden Age of Luther. "Nothing," says Ranke, "was permitted to disturb the current of Leo's enjoyments." A pleasant life, no doubt, but, considering his office, a contemptible one. No wonder this Golden Age was, as we shall see, followed by a catastrophe which laid Rome once more in ruins. The Roman population insulted Leo's body as it was borne to the grave. They cried: "*Thou camest like a fox; thou hast ruled like a lion; thou hast died like a dog.*"

Adrian VI., 1522-1523.

Leo's successor, Adrian, saw the state of the Church just as Luther and other fair-minded Roman Catholics did. He was selected, not because of his honesty, but in spite of it; and because the cardinals hated each other. The new Pope thus expressed himself concerning the condition

of the Church: "Abominations have found their way into it; crying abuses, exorbitant prerogatives; evil everywhere. From the head, the malady has extended to the limbs: all have gone astray, none has acted right,—no, not one!"

He immediately attempted reforms, but found the task impossible. His election had been hailed with joyful acclamation. He had five thousand benefices to bestow, and every rascal pressed forward to get an office. He conscientiously refused to appoint incompetent persons. Every step he took made matters worse. In his private character, he was a model of virtue. The enmity of all around him, and the heathenish modes of thought prevailing in Rome, drove the master of the Vatican into the seclusion of his own private apartment, where, at last, attended alone by his faithful old housekeeper, whom he had brought with him from his previous simple dwelling, he died of a broken heart. He thought he had accomplished nothing; but he was mistaken; he had given the Reformation rest for a year.

Pope Clement followed Adrian. His reign of eleven years was marked by the following events:

Clement VII., 1523-1534.

1521–1535. In Germany, the insurrection of the Anabaptists, which raged fourteen years.

1524–1525. The Peasants' War.

1521–1527. The burning and beheading of Lutherans.

Some time before the beginning of the Peasants' War, a band of fanatics, already mentioned, appeared in Zwickau (1521), under the leadership of Thomas Münzer, who called himself *the servant of God, with the sword of Gideon.* Mün-

Anabaptist Insurrection, 1521-1535.

zer looked down with contempt upon Luther's moderate aims; his purpose was to overthrow both Church and State; to accomplish, in fact, a grand, general, social revolution. He called upon the people to rise and murder every prince, and to keep their swords constantly warm in the blood of their enemies. Crowds were attracted by the tempting bait, division of property, forcible regeneration of society, abolition of marriage, and removal of all barriers against human passion. After forcing their way to a great millennium by the murder of every opponent, the people were to obtain unbounded liberty and happiness; the children of the kingdom would be absolutely equal. No more masters; no more servants; no more rich and poor; no more sovereigns or governments. These were the men whose arrival in Wittenberg called Luther from the Wartburg. They branded the honest Reformer as a coward and a traitor. The Peasants' War broke out while Münzer was organizing his forces, and for a year that war and the Anabaptist insurrection blended into one. In the Battle of Frankenhausen, which terminated the Peasants' War, the regenerator of the world, Münzer, did not act his part nobly. The princes, who had now concentrated all their forces, mercifully sent the insurgents a message of peace: "If they would deliver up their ringleaders, the mass of the rebels might return to their homes unharmed." Münzer ridiculed the proposition, and kindled a fatal confidence in his followers; he promised to receive, in the sleeve of his dress, all the bullets shot against them. On the banner of the Anabaptists a rainbow was painted, and while Münzer was speaking, a rainbow appeared in the heavens. "*See*," cried Münzer, "*God gives us a sign of victory!*" The peace-messengers were sent back with insults; one was

murdered (May 15, 1525). The princes, Philip of Hesse at their head, then attacked the city and took it by storm. The dead bodies of five thousand peasants were left upon the field; the prisoners, three hundred in number, were beheaded. Münzer was found hidden in a bed in a garret in Frankenhausen, frightened nearly to death. After having been subjected to torture, he was beheaded. This ended the Peasants' War; but the Anabaptists continued their rebellion. Ten years afterward (1524–1535), they seized and fortified the town of Münster (Prussia, province of Westphalia), and proceeded to re-establish "the kingdom of God upon earth." They were joined by adherents from all quarters. Mathias, one of the Anabaptist leaders, was proclaimed king, and after him, the tailor, John Boekelson (John of Leyden). Every one opposing the kingly authority was executed by Knipperdolling, the public executioner. King John wore a crown and purple robes, appointed judges, coined money, seized the property of all persons executed, banished or fugitive, and divided it among the faithful. The profligate visionaries reveled, for a time, in unrestrained sensuality. Every day new crowds pressed into the town, attracted by the prospect of conquering the globe, and dividing among themselves the riches of mankind. They had sent out embassadors and preachers among the surrounding populations; there was imminent danger of another insurrection. The plan was first to surprise and occupy Amsterdam. The abomination at last reached such a height that princes and people, Protestants and Catholics, joined in putting an end to it. Let us judge these wretched criminals mercifully. Some, certainly, believed in Münzer's pretended revelation. Their first king, Mathias, in the early part of the siege, sallied out of the town-gates with thirty

followers, expecting, like Gideon, to disperse with this handful of men the whole army of the enemy. They were all instantly slaughtered. The city was taken; many of the leaders were slain in battle. King John, Knipperdolling, and Krechting, one of the ringleaders, were condemned to be first tortured with red-hot pincers, then beheaded, and their dead bodies exposed in iron cages on the outside of a church-steeple in Münster. Crowds of their followers were broken on the wheel.

Peasants' War, 1524-1525.

We now go back to the origin of the Peasants' War. Low as the peasant population had sunk, they were nevertheless men, and when the report of Luther's resistance to Church abuses and of his testimony before the Diet of Worms began to resound through all their mountains and valleys, they saw in the Reformation, not only the fall of the Church, but of the Empire; they saw a vision of liberty, and the prospect of attaining it made them crazy. An insurrection broke out, supported by many discontented nobles and many strong cities. There were real wrongs enough to account for, and almost to justify this uprising. Herein lay the great danger of the Reformation. Luther saw that the revolution of the peasants must end in their destruction, and that the Reformation might be wrecked with it. He warned them, but in vain. The movement had broken out in the Black Forest, Wirtemberg; there, particularly, the nobles had oppressed the peasants; there, the peasants first rose and murdered a number of noblemen. The furious princes arrested all the insurgents they could catch, and had them executed. Happy those who were simply slaughtered! George Truchsess, the commander of the Swabian League, caused a peasant to be roasted alive; the Margrave Casimir

seized fifty-seven peasants, and had their eyes torn out. The culprits had sworn that they would never see the Margrave among them again; "*Now*," he said, "*they shall keep their oath.*" The peasants seized every nobleman within their reach, tortured and murdered him. At one time, they took Count Helfenstein prisoner, with sixteen knights, believed to have ordered the execution of peasants, and sentenced them to run the gauntlet; the victims, stripped, were driven between two rows of several hundred men, each peasant dealing a blow with a rod, or a thrust with a spear. Every one of the prisoners succumbed to this barbarous treatment. The act aroused all Germany. It was not an isolated crime; the peasants inflicted indescribable tortures and outrages upon men and women. Luther published a pamphlet, calling upon all the German people to put down the insurrection by force of arms, saying, the peasants ought to be slaughtered like so many mad dogs. He probably used this language to avert the danger that the Reformation and himself, as its leader, might be considered as perpetrating or countenancing these atrocities. He, no doubt, subsequently regretted his expressions; for the peasants had no better friend. He had advised them to submit to the princes; but he warned the princes, that they ought to grant their demands when reasonable. After their defeat, he pleaded earnestly in their behalf. He is not the only one who, in a moment of anger, forgot the proverb: "Speaking is silver, but silence is gold." Luther's real spirit, with regard to the peasants, is shown by his two works, printed 1520, one addressed: "*To the Nobles of the German Nation*," and one entitled: "*The Liberty of the Individual Christian.*" He pointed out to all parties the only mode of redress.

But it is the curse of the laboring classes of all ages, that ambitious and ignorant leaders take up their cause, and by attempts, equally stupid and criminal, to relieve, only render them more miserable. In the spring of 1525, the greater portion of Germany was literally in flames. Hundreds of castles and convents were set on fire, and burned to the ground. Great bodies of insurgents, their banner the fragment of a plow, or one of the shoes (called *Bundschuh*) usually worn by the peasants, swept over the land, committing frightful crimes, seizing plunder, forcing into their ranks, under penalty of death, hundreds who disapproved the movement, and, as we have seen, strengthened and encouraged in their wildest excesses by their union with the Anabaptist army. Is it not remarkable that such a mighty Emperor as Charles V. proved himself so helpless in the moment of peril! The Peasants' War which, as already related, was ended by the Battle of Frankenhausen and the death of Thomas Münzer, was cruelly avenged. The roads were lined with wretched beings dying on gibbets. Hundreds were beheaded. The principal citizens of the towns which had joined the insurrection were put to death. One hundred and fifty thousand peasants had died in battle. Rich provinces were devastated, and wide regions left uncultivated. The condition of the peasants was now worse than ever, at least in Catholic countries; they continued still to be called in derision: "Poor Conrad." A writer called this war, "*a frightful shriek of mankind under its load of oppression.*" It was one of the forerunners of the French Revolution of 1789.

Frederic the Wise died before the Battle of Frankenhausen. The Peasants' War had clouded his last days.

The fidelity with which he had performed his duties as a sovereign endeared him to his subjects, and his steady protection of Luther still commands gratitude. The last scene of his life was very touching. He sent for Luther, with whom, strange to say, he had never personally spoken; but Luther was away among the Hartz Mountains, striving to soften the horrors of the peasant insurrection. Frederic, prudent and wise, and not at first fully understanding the spirit and scope of the Reformation, had refrained from too openly and positively identifying himself with it. In his testament, he declared "that he had no hope except in the Son of God." The people of Saxony wept, and said: "God have mercy on us, we have lost our father." That epitaph could not have been inscribed on the tomb either of Leo, Clement, or Charles.

Frederic of Saxony dies, May 5, 1525.

Frederic was succeeded in the Electorate by his brother, John the Constant (der Beständige), a firm supporter of the Reformation.

While Germany was rocking and reeling like a ship in a storm, the Church initiated a series of persecutions in Germany. From a number of cases, we select a few described by one of the latest historians.* In 1527, John Heglen was burned in Constance and George Carpentarius in Munich; in 1529, Adolph Klarenbach and Peter Flysteden were burned in Cologne; the latter, as he mounted the scaffold, cried: "I have never in my life felt so great a joy as at this moment!"

Persecutions of Lutherans, 1521-1527.

Luther himself has given the history of one of the martyrs executed in this period,—namely, Leonhard Kaiser.

* Kurze Reformationsgeschichte von W. Redenbach. Herausgegeben von dem Calver Verlagsverein, 1883.

He was a priest, and introduced Luther's books and doctrines into his parish. The Bishop of Passau caused him to be arrested; he was released on the promise not to repeat his offense. In 1525, he came to Wittenberg, studied under Luther, and enjoyed an intimate friendship with the great Reformer. On the news that his dying father wished to see him at Raab, in Hungary, he went there, was betrayed by a spy, arrested again, and plunged into a dungeon in Passau (Bavaria). The severity of his imprisonment broke down his health. On being at last examined before the Church authorities, he testified to the truth, just as Luther had done before the Diet. Great efforts were made to save his life. The Evangelical princes earnestly remonstrated; but the Bishop of Passau remained unmoved, and Kaiser was condemned to death. On the scaffold, the rope with which he was to be bound became entangled, and the executioner uttered an oath. Kaiser said: "Swear not, dear brother; I shall not run away." The prayers of the victim were heard till the flames put an end to his breath.

Many others suffered death, as heretics, during these first years of the Reformation. George Buchführer, a book-seller in Leipsic, was burned for selling Luther's works (1521).

First War of Charles V. against Francis I., 1521-1526.

From its commencement, the Reformation encountered the heaviest storms; but it was continually saved by most singular combinations of persons and events. Charles intended to tread upon it as upon a reptile: the reader will notice how his purpose was defeated. Immediately after his first diet at Worms, a Spanish insurrection broke out, which required his presence in Spain. His wars with Francis

kept him five years absent from Germany, during which time his brother Ferdinand acted as Regent of the Empire. The Anabaptist episode and the Peasants' War were consequences of the Reformation, and seemed destined to stifle it at its birth. In fact, however, they only added to its strength. They dispelled the fears that it was aiming at social or political revolution. All parties could mark the difference between the Peasants' War, which resembled a mad bull broke loose, or the Anabaptist insanity, which seemed the inspiration of an evil spirit, and the reverent Reformation, full of self-control, and teaching peace on earth and good-will to man. A still greater danger was the common and deadly hatred of the Pope and Charles V. toward the Reformation. Both determined to crush the "heresy," but both were led into projects which neutralized their efforts. Beyond the German frontiers, Europe, Asia, and Africa appeared to be working together for the success of the movement. Francis I., Solyman the Magnificent, Tunis, Venice, Barbarossa (the pirate, 1535), Wolsey, Henry VIII., Charles,—nay, the very Pope himself seemed to have entered into a common alliance to prevent one another from interfering, till the Reformation had settled upon its base too firmly to be overthrown.

When Charles V. ascended the German throne, Francis I. was master of Italy. His increasing power had alarmed Europe. Charles claimed Milan and the Duchy of Burgundy, while Francis I. claimed Naples and the Spanish province of Navarre, adjoining France. An alliance was formed between Charles, the Pope, Henry VIII. of England, and some smaller princes, and a war broke out, the object of which was to drive Francis out of Italy. Henry VIII. was drawn into it by his ambitious minister,

Cardinal Wolsey, whom Charles bribed by promising him the tiara. After a short campaign, the French were driven back out of Italy. The Constable of Bourbon, Francis' general, who was on his part intriguing for the French throne, had been detected in this treasonable attempt (1525), and in consequence had taken service under the German Emperor. Francis having organized a new army, again crossed the Alps in person, and reconquered part of Italy. Bourbon was soon at the head of another army. Charles found himself again without money to pay his soldiers. Bourbon's army had neither money nor food. At Pavia (Lombardy), the German troops, in their destitute condition, came in sight of Francis' army, fully equipped and well supplied. The French occupied a strong position, and anticipated an easy victory; but Bourbon, his colleague the Spanish General Pescara, and the German veteran General Freundsberg, under Charles' general, Lannoy, attacked the enemy under cover of the night. Like hungry wolves, their half-starved soldiers stormed the French intrenchments, more in pursuit of food than of glory, and in a terrible battle (Pavia, February 24, 1525), completely routed the French. Thousands of Frenchmen were left dead upon the field. Francis wrote to the queen: "Madam, all is lost but honor."

Peace of Madrid, March 17, 1526.

Francis himself had been taken prisoner and confined in Madrid, where Charles compelled him to sign a treaty, abandoning his claim to Italy and Burgundy, and promising to give no support to the enemies of the Emperor. Francis solemnly swore upon the Gospel that he would never violate this treaty, delivered his two sons to Charles as hostages, and was released from prison.

Toward the close of this war, Charles being still absent from Germany, his brother Ferdinand, less bigoted than Charles, administering the Empire as Regent, with some of the higher princes, a Diet assembled at Spire, in 1526. The inactivity of Luther's enemies, the gradual increase of the Reformation party, continually strengthened by the adhesion of princes, rendered it possible for the Evangelical League to obtain a decree, which never could have been secured had Pope and Emperor not been engaged abroad. It was decreed that every German State should be free to regulate its religious affairs according to its own judgment. The ban against Luther was withdrawn, and a free Christian Council was promised to be convoked as soon as possible in Germany, for the purpose of settling religious questions. The decree was signed by Ferdinand, and became a law of the Empire. The legal existence of the Protestant party was based upon this decree.

Decree of Spire, 1526.

After the Battle of Pavia, Charles thought the time had come to cleanse away the foul heresies with which, he declared, Luther had polluted the Empire. He was making arrangements with his friend and ally, Clement, in order, finally and forever, to dispose of the question, when his hand was again held back by a new event. This faithful friend and ally had now begun to form new projects. He had till then assisted the Spaniards, Charles' subjects, in establishing themselves in Italy, as a counterpoise to Francis I.; but he soon discovered that, instead of remaining his instruments, the Spaniards were fast becoming his masters. Alarmed at their increasing power and insolence, he determined to drive them out of Italy. This could be done only with Francis' assistance.

Second War between Charles V. and Francis I., 1527-1529.

Clement, therefore, made advances to his old enemy, and betrayed Charles V. Francis broke his oath. A new League, consisting of the Pope, Henry VIII., Francis I., and as many Italian princes as could be drawn into it, was now formed; and thus strengthened, the Pope declared war against Charles V. as King of Spain. Francis refused to give up Burgundy, and advanced a new claim to Naples. So Charles had to leave Luther and the Reformation, and to begin fighting again in Italy. How could Francis so openly break his word after surrendering his two sons as hostages, and why did Charles not revenge himself upon the young princes? We shall presently see what Charles did with them.

Sack of Rome, May 6, 1527.

Charles sent another army into Italy, under the Constable of Bourbon and his old General Freundsberg. This army, strange to say, was not better paid than the first. Bourbon's troops consisted of hirelings from Italy, Germany, and Spain; those of Freundsberg were Germans, anxious to avenge the Emperor's grievances upon a faithless Pope. Freundsberg declared: "*When I reach Rome, I will hang the Pope.*" He, however, never reached Rome; a mutiny broke out among the invading army; the men clamored for pay. Their wild threats caused Freundsberg a fit of apoplexy, which put an end to his life. The army demanded to be instantly led to Rome, where the prospect of immense plunder whetted their voracious appetite. The Constable of Bourbon had no power to refuse; a mighty dissolute army, which has got the better of its commander, is a frightful power. On May 6, 1527, these rabid hordes, worse than those of Alaric and Attila, reached the Eternal City. Two hours before sunset, the German and Spanish troops, by means of scaling ladders,

crowded over the walls. The Constable of Bourbon was killed at the first raising of the ladders, it is said, by a shot from Benvenuto Cellini. The troops were now without a leader. The slaughter would have been frightful had any resolute defense been attempted. Six thousand men were massacred, the city plundered; all manuscripts, documents, letters, registers, that could be found, torn to pieces, burned, or otherwise destroyed; a large part of the city burned to the ground. "The Pope," writes an eye-witness,* "with all of his guards, Cardinals, and Bishops, who had escaped the slaughter, fled for refuge to his Castle of St. Angelo. This stronghold was besieged for three weeks, and at last forced by famine to capitulate." "Never," says Ranke, "did richer booty fall into more violent hands. Never was plunder more continuous and destructive." The officers, with shouts of triumph, took possession of the Vatican, lighted their watch-fires in the gilded halls, and practiced all sorts of buffoonery, to ridicule religious ceremonies. The soldiers clothed themselves in the Pope's robes, and strutted uproariously about the town in the scarlet mantles and hats of the Cardinals. One of them rode in their midst crowned with the tiara. They then held a meeting, in which they elected Luther as the next Pope. The Spanish troops were particularly conspicuous for their unbridled licentiousness. "These lewd ruffians remained more than nine months in possession of the city, every hour of which was stained with some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine."† The Pope, on the capitulation of the Castle of St. Angelo, purchased his freedom by

* Leben und Thaten des weiland Wohledlen und gestrengen Herrn Sebastian Schertlin von Burtenbach. Münster, 1858. Aschendorfsche Buchhandlung.

† Gibbon.

the payment of a heavy sum, and seized the first opportunity to escape in disguise. The booty plundered was valued at an amount which we dare not name.

Peace of Cambrai ("Ladies' Peace"), 1529.

The mother of Francis and the aunt of Charles now arranged at Cambrai (France), a peace, called the "Ladies' Peace." The ladies, however, could not have concluded it, if the gentlemen had not so desired. Francis abandoned his claim to Milan, and paid a ransom of two million francs for his two sons, still held as hostages, in fulfillment of the treaty of Madrid. Charles and Clement then, for some time, resided in the same palace at Bologna. It would have been interesting to witness the courteous intercourse which now took place between these two gentlemen as they proceeded to concert their future operations. It was Charles' dearest wish to be crowned Roman Emperor. Clement agreed to perform that ceremony upon two conditions: Charles should help him to put down a rebellion in Florence; and to exterminate the heresy in Germany. No doubt, when terms were finally arranged, the two sacred heads of the Christian Church enjoyed a good supper together, as social as that which, fifteen hundred years before, had taken place upon a not very dissimilar occasion between Pilate and Herod. While enjoying their capons, omelettes, and wine, they found a more agreeable subject of conversation than the Holy League and the sack of Rome; and that was the intended marriage of the Holy Father's illegitimate son, Alexander of Medici, with the Emperor's illegitimate daughter, Margaret.

At this time, the Turks, under Solyman II., broke over the Hungarian frontier again, advanced toward Vienna with three hundred thousand troops, and burned

and ravaged the region around that city. Their farther progress being rendered difficult by a season of extraordinary cold, and the arrival of a large Imperial army to re-inforce the garrison of the city, Solyman retreated, carrying away, as slaves, thirty thousand Christians, including women and children.

Vienna besieged by the Turks, 1529.

A short time afterward, the Pope performed his promise by crowning Charles V., at Bologna, King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans, — the last German Emperor thus crowned by a Pope. Charles then suppressed the insurrection at Florence, depriving the Florentines of their republican constitution, and placing his new son-in-law, Alexander, upon the ducal throne. The very army which had sacked Rome was sent to Florence. Those respectable hordes who had come on to hang the Pope must have laughed on finding themselves in the Pope's service, marching on to destroy the liberties of the Florentines, which they only succeeded in doing after a long and nobly resisted siege.

Charles crowned Roman Emperor, Feb. 24, 1530.

This victory over Clement had greatly strengthened Charles; in Italy, he became more powerful than any German Emperor had been for several centuries in that country. "From that period," says Ranke (writing before 1848), "Italy has never been free from the rule of a stranger."

Charles had become more powerful than ever. Now, at least, he could deal with Luther; now, he had nothing to fear, either from Clement or Francis. He, accordingly, convoked another Diet at Spire, again presided during his absence by his brother Ferdinand. Elated by the success of the last

Second Diet at Spire, 1529.

war, the Catholic princes declared they would waste no more words on the Lutherans. "The stinking member should be amputated by the Imperial sword." The Emperor gave his word to the Pope that he would either drive the heretics back into the Church, or destroy them. The Diet now issued a very different decree from the one obtained by the Protestants from the previous Diet. It renewed the ban against Luther, and declared that no innovation in the government or doctrines of the Church should be permitted before the convocation of an Ecumenical Council. The mass and the Lord's Supper should be celebrated nowhere in Germany, except in the old form; no one should be permitted to forsake the ordinances of the Catholic Church, etc., etc.

The name "Protestant," 1529.

Twelve years had passed since Luther had published his theses; during that time the Reformation had established itself firmly. It had received a legal existence. Luther had abjured his vows as Augustinian monk and married a converted nun, Catherine of Bora, in 1525. The latter step was a far greater act of courage and wisdom than at first appears. By this act, Luther opened the gates of many cloisters and nunneries, and freed hundreds from the false religious system taught by Rome. A magical change came over the land. Happy homes with affectionate wives, mothers, and children, sprang up, in place of gloomy nunneries and lazy, immoral cloisters. Prayers of supplication, songs of praise, eloquent sermons, not in the Latin, but in the familiar German tongue, offered consolation for sorrow and strength in temptation. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper had been restored to its original form. The infallibility of Pope and Councils over and above the Scriptures was disclaimed, and the

worship of the Virgin and Saints abolished. The Reformation had extended through North Germany, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Hungary, Transylvania, Poland, and had many adherents in England, Italy, and even in Austria and Spain. As the plague had once rolled its dark and deadly waves over Europe, so God's truth now rolled its waves of light and life.

The last decree of the Diet of Spire, not only arrested the progress of the Reformation, but threatened to drag it back again to all the old abuses. Against this decree, the Evangelical States entered a solemn protest, signed by the Elector of Saxony, John the Constant, the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, and fourteen Imperial cities. These "protestants" declared their resolution to refuse obedience in matters of faith, promising to obey the Emperor and the Diet in all points where they had a right to command; "but the decree was contrary to God and His Holy Word, and irreconcilable with the salvation of their souls. Neither secular nor ecclesiastical magistrates had a right to dictate in matters of religious faith." From this time, the Evangelical party were, in derision, called "Protestants." Charles, who was in Italy, received this protest with rage and vows of vengeance, which he partly fulfilled by his subsequent treatment of Philip of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony.

Confession of Augsburg, June, 1530.

The Evangelical princes sent a deputation, with a copy of their protest, and a petition to cancel the resolutions of the last Spire Diet. Charles received them brutally as rebels, and rejected their petition, but added, that the matter should be settled at a future Diet in Augsburg. The proclamation convoking the new Diet was immediately published. To

the astonishment of everybody, it was framed in a very friendly spirit toward the Protestants; it declared that the object of the Diet was, by rational and fair concessions on both sides, to effect a just and generous settlement, that all might unite in the true religion at the feet of Christ. The Protestant princes were requested to present a written statement of their faith. What had come over Charles? Had a ray of Christian light penetrated into his heart? Was Saul, also, among the prophets? No. He had just concluded a secret treaty with the Pope, by which he bound himself to put an end to the Reformation by military force. A large number of Lutherans had been burned, hanged, and beheaded in Germany on account of their faith; and now, for the first time, the Imperial government asked, what that faith was. The Diet was convoked for the spring of 1530. Charles promised to preside in person. The town began to fill in April. Luther desired to be present; but the States would not permit him to attend, as he was again under the ban of the Empire and the Church. He came, however, as far as Coburg, a fortress on the frontier of Saxony, between which and Augsburg a continued correspondence went on during the session. The Diet waited and waited, but still Charles did not come. He arrived at last, on the 15th of June, with unusual pomp, accompanied by his brother Ferdinand and a brilliant assemblage of high dignitaries; as became one who had been crowned Roman Emperor by the Pope. As the royal cortege reached the town, the cry arose: "*Salvator venit!*" (the Savior comes). Space allows only a brief account of Charles' conduct at this Diet. The document, known as the Confession of Augsburg, drawn by Melanchthon, was now formally communicated. Charles attempted to post-

pone the consideration of it as an insignificant subordinate matter, but found himself obliged to yield. He then declared that the statement should not be publicly read, the princes should merely hand him a written copy, which should receive all proper attention. This the princes absolutely refused, and Charles was compelled to yield again. He knew the princes had a formidable ally in the printing-press, and he felt he was at the bar of public opinion. He then, spitefully, decided the document should not be read in the large hall of the Diet, but at his own private residence, in the small chapel-room, large enough to contain only two hundred persons. The court of Bishops and the members of the Diet could be present. During the reading, the building was surrounded by an immense crowd. Two copies of the document had been prepared,—one in Latin and one in German. Charles commanded that the Latin copy alone should be read. The Elector, John of Saxony, remarked: "*We are in Germany, on German ground. We hope your Imperial Majesty will not forbid us to use our own language.*" Charles had to yield again. The German copy was then read by the Saxon Chancellor, Dr. Beyer, in so loud a voice, that it was distinctly heard by every one around the building. It was a simple statement of Christian faith, the chief idea being: Christ our only Saviour. The effect was great upon the hearers. Some of the ultra Catholics listened with the deepest horror, and said, its pages should be illuminated with blood. Several of the princes and Catholic Bishops openly expressed their extreme astonishment. They had been taught that the Protestants were sensual, godless rebels, seeking to overthrow Christianity. The Bishop of Augsburg remarked: "*Every word of the Confession is the truth of God!*"

Charles immediately ordered a refutation to be prepared by Dr. Eck. Melanchthon, on his side, prepared a defense, which was contemptuously rejected, while Eck's composition was read also in the chapel-hall (but not in so loud a voice as Dr. Beyer's) before the Bishops, the majority of whom declared that Eck had completely proved the Confession of the Protestants to be contrary to the Scriptures. Charles indorsed this opinion. The result was a threatening resolution by the Diet (November 19, 1530): "The innovations in the practice and doctrine of the Church, introduced by the Lutherans, were declared heretical and abolished. If, within six months, the Protestants did not re-enter the true Church and conform to its authority, they would be brought back by force. At the end of six months, a grand Council would meet at Trent."

The Smalkaldic League, 1531-1547.

Smalkald is a small town in the Prussian province of Hesse-Cassel. The Protestant princes now formed what is called "The Smalkaldic League," John the Constant and Philip of Hesse being the leading princes. The Emperor declared the ban against the League, and made preparations to execute it. The Imperial Chamber demanded the restoration of all the ecclesiastical property confiscated in the different Protestant States. Luther, notwithstanding, still declared: "I rely on Almighty God." His trust was repeated in his noble hymn: "*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*," etc. Charles prepared to settle the question by the sword, when his hand was once more arrested. A cry of terror ran through Germany; the Turks, under Solyman the Magnificent, had re-appeared in Hungary, and were rapidly advancing toward Vienna.

These formidable invaders, to-day fallen so low, had, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, risen to the

height of their power. They aspired to the possession of the world. In 1453, under Mohammed II., the reader will remember how they took Constantinople, and sat on the Eastern-Roman, or Byzantine throne. Solyman the Magnificent, the most brilliant and powerful of the Ottoman Sultans, had gathered all his forces for the conquest of the German Empire, hoping to add the throne of the West to his Eastern conquests. In 1529, he had, as already stated, invaded Austria with a large army and besieged Vienna, but without success.

The Turks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

With undignified haste, a Diet assembled at Nuremberg, canceled all the resolutions passed at the last Augsburg Diet, and granted to the Lutherans the peaceful exercise of their worship pending the convocation of an Ecumenical Council. The Protestant princes then joined Charles against the common enemy. In the most formidable army which had been seen in Germany for the last one hundred years, Roman Catholics and Protestants marched shoulder to shoulder, and reached Vienna in time to save the city. A body of Turkish troops was cut to pieces, and Solyman retired with his whole army. The Mediterranean had, in the meantime, been swept by Turkish corsairs. A pirate, Chaireddin Barbarossa, had taken Algiers and Tunis, and was threatening the coasts of Italy and Spain. Charles sent an expedition, took Tunis, and delivered twenty thousand Christian slaves from captivity.

Peace of Nuremberg, 1532.

The Society of Jesus, the ecclesiastical order which, under the name of Jesuits, has become notorious throughout the world, was instituted about this time by Ignatius Loyola, for the purpose of suppressing Protestantism and promoting the

Society of Jesus, 1540.

universal dominion of the Papacy. It was now officially adopted, by Pope Paul III., as an instrument of the Church.

Third War of Charles against Francis, 1536-1538.

Charles now hoped again for leisure to settle the Church question; but Francis renewed his claim to Milan, formed an alliance with Solyman, and plundered the Italian coast. The war was suspended by an armistice for ten years, but broke out again for the fourth time.

Fourth War of Charles against Francis, 1542-1544.

The Turkish and French fleets had bombarded and plundered some towns on the Italian coast. Charles was obliged to ask help from the princes of the Empire. He was engaged in a quarrel with the Pope, and had therefore less objection to make advances to the Protestants.* He promised them equality with the Roman Church. Never before or subsequently had the Protestant princes so much reason to hope for justice from the Emperor.

Peace of Crespy.

The war ended greatly to the advantage of Charles, who had penetrated so far into France that Paris trembled. The treaty contained a remarkable paragraph. Francis stipulated to assist the Emperor against Solyman and to aid him in restoring unity in the Church; that is, to help him at the same time against Turks and Christians.

Council of Trent, 1545-1568.

Already, in 1533, Charles had demanded from the Pope the convocation of a Council; but Clement, although he promised to comply with the request, never performed his promise. A council would probably carry out extreme measures against the Lutherans, whose destruction was equally desired by Emperor and Pope. Why, then, did

* See Charles' letter to his sister Maria. Ranke's "Deutsche Geschichte zur Zeit der Reformation," page 295, also 300.

not Clement call the Council? Because he was afraid that a victory over the Protestants would strengthen Charles more than was desirable. His fear of the Protestants was outweighed by his fear of Charles. Clement was, moreover, secretly intriguing again with Francis, who also objected to the Council, and for the same reason. So no Council was convoked by Clement, who died in 1534. His successor, Paul III., also postponed a Council till the year 1545. Thus Charles' very power worked against him, and the Reformation enjoyed another respite for thirteen years. The Council at length met in 1545. Charles was now relieved of all his foreign wars. By his command, the Lutherans in the Netherlands were, as we have already seen, mercilessly persecuted and committed to the flames; why should he not now pursue the same course against the Protestants in Germany? The Jesuits were at hand, with their perfect organization, secretly working by most unlawful means to destroy the Reformation, and to maintain the Catholic hierarchy with all its dogmas and tenets. The great Council of Trent, as bigoted and unmerciful as that of Constance, rose up to decide what the world should believe in religious matters.

Death of Luther. Eisleben, Feb. 18, 1546.

At this time, the darkest moment of the Reformation, Luther died. Before he breathed his last, a friend asked: "Venerable father, do you die trusting in Christ and in the doctrines you have preached?" The answer was a firm, triumphant "Yes." He had not retracted before the Emperor and the Diet; he now confirmed his former confession before the throne of God. About daybreak, his hands folded upon his breast, he heaved a gentle sigh and passed away. His remains were borne from Eisleben

to Wittenberg by a cortege which at first consisted of the Counts of Mansfeld and a body of fifty horsemen, but was afterward joined by numbers of princes, counts, towns'-people, and peasants, eager to honor one of the greatest men, if not the greatest man, who had moved upon the stage of the Holy Roman Empire. Wherever the procession passed, the grateful German people came forth to greet it. Town-gates were opened, populations assembled, church-bells tolled; magistrates, matrons, maidens, young, old, crowds of little children, all clothed in mourning, appeared everywhere on the way to bewail the loss of their champion, friend, and benefactor. Bursts of funereal chants were continually heard; sometimes hymns which Luther himself had taught; sometimes those he had himself written: "Our God is a strong fortress" ("*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*," etc.), or: "With peace and joy hence I go" ("*Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*"). The body was carried on amid the sobs and weeping of the crowding multitude. Was this the man whom Charles called a devil in human form? Whose mouth Leo X. and Clement had made such efforts to silence? Of whom Cajetan had said: "I will no longer speak with that beast"?

Thoughts on Luther.

Our sketch has pictured in somber colors the depravity of the Empire. Luther represented its virtue, intellect, courage, and faith in God and in His word. He was the highest type of a German. How many centuries have passed over the graves of all the renowned men of the Empire, but who celebrates the birthday of Charles, Leo, Cajetan, Eck? The birthday of Luther alone is celebrated by the present world. Nevertheless, he does not stand alone. He is only one of a group in whom the original image of God

was not effaced. He was far too humble-minded, sensible, and generous to claim pre-eminence. Arnold of Brescia, Jerome of Prague, Huss, Savonarola, Wycliffe, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Calvin; hundreds, thousands of others, many unknown to history, from Stephen to the last victim of the Inquisition and *auto da fé;* all the heroic martyrs under the old Roman Empire; even those who faithfully confronted the danger without actually bearing the penalty; among them many women and children; all these ought to share Luther's honors.

But Luther was not only a Reformer, he was a man of learning and genius. His translation of the Bible, even had he done nothing else, would have made him immortal. Kaulbach, the great historical painter of Germany, has painted four magnificent pictures in the new Berlin Museum. In one of these, eighty-three prominent characters represent the Age of the Reformation; philosophers, scientists, poets, discoverers, inventors, kings, princes, nobles, Gustavus Adolphus, Copernicus, Shakespeare, etc. Among them, Luther stands alone, above them all, holding aloft, wide open, the Word of God. Another painting represents the Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; the most awful event, but one, in human history. Above this scene of wild horror and despair, stand the four great prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, holding up to the guilty, burning city the prophecies of the Old Testament. What these four prophets did for the Jewish people, Luther did for the German Empire. Yet more, he held up, not only the despised prophecies of the Old Testament, but the fulfillments of the New. These are the foundation on which Christianity rests. Skeptical philosophy has exhausted itself in endeavors to undermine this foundation.

but has failed. A Christian scientific literature of a higher order has risen, and is still rising, which we respectfully ask fair-minded rationalists to examine; lest some future Kaulbach hold up another picture, showing to unbelievers, not only by the consequences of their teaching, but by a clearer statement of scientific facts, that, to use the words of Paul: "They are without excuse!"

CHAPTER VIII.

SMALKALDIC WAR—CLOSE OF THE REFORMATION—ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.

THE object of Charles, in securing the German throne, was to rebuild and bequeath to his Hapsburg descendants hereditary and absolute sovereignty over the most powerful Empire in the world; not a Papal, not a German, but a Spanish Empire. At the age of nineteen he became Emperor, and, with the ardor of youth, regarded his plan as accomplished. But he immediately found an obstacle in the dawning Reformation. At his first Diet (Worms), the Monk of Wittenberg stood before him, and threatened the frustration of all his hopes. Immediately after that Diet, his wars with Francis I., Pope Clement VII., and Solyman II. compelled him, instead of destroying the Protestants, to purchase their aid by important concessions. During the twenty-three subsequent years, he had, as we have seen, made several attempts to crush the Evangelical religion, but these attempts were always singularly defeated. The Peace of Crespy (1544) at last had left him free from foreign wars, and in a position again to undertake the execution of his designs. At his oft-repeated request, a council had been convoked at Trent (1545), just before Luther's death. Charles had urged the meeting, because, he thought, he could use the Council as his instrument.

He could not carry out his plans without becoming master of the Council, and he could not hope to become

master of the Council unless he first became complete master of the German Empire. The Smalkaldic League, representing Protestantism, stood firmly in his way, denied the Council's authority, refused to send representatives to the meeting, declined the Emperor's invitation to be represented at another Diet, and disputed the right of any earthly authority to inforce a religious creed. The League had first been organized in 1530, immediately after the arbitrary rejection of the Augsburg Confession. It had been renewed for ten years, in 1536, and consequently, if not again renewed, would expire in 1546. It consisted of a majority of Protestant princes and Imperial cities, headed by the Elector of Saxony (John Frederic), and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. At the outbreak of the war (1546), it had an army of forty-seven thousand men, and held most of the principal towns and fortresses in South Germany: Nuremburg, Nördlingen, Ulm, Augsburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, etc. The Emperor was at that time unable to muster more than eight thousand troops. We have already referred to the circumstance that the German Emperor was so often without money and without troops, while the Leagues and great vassals were able to raise large armies. What a clumsy machine the Empire was! What a contrast to modern governments! In case of need, the present German Emperor could send a million men to any point of his frontier.

Smalkaldic League.

Prominent among the Protestant princes, was the young Duke Maurice of Saxony. On the territory occupied by the Saxons at the time of Charlemagne, two separate states had now arisen: the Electorate and the Duchy of Saxony.

Duke Maurice of Saxony.

The Electorate was the country of Luther and of his great protector, the Elector Frederic the Wise. Among its towns were the capital and fortress Wittenberg, Torgau (usually the residence of the Electors), Altenburg, Eisenach (with the castle of Wartburg), Gotha, Weimar, etc.

Electorate of Saxony.

The Duchy of Saxony was governed by Duke Maurice. Its principal towns were: Freiberg, Meissen, Leipsic, Dresden (with the present royal palace), Pirna, etc. Maurice was a cousin of John Frederic, and son-in-law of Philip of Hesse.

Duchy of Saxony.

Charles' plan was to destroy both the League and Protestantism. But he kept the Protestants inactive, by promising that when the League, which was undeniably in open rebellion, should be subdued, he would grant to the Evangelical Church equal rights with the Catholic. By this policy, he succeeded in keeping several powerful princes out of the League. At the same time, he secretly recruited forces in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, and concluded a treaty with the Pope, in which he (Charles) promised to bring the Protestants by military force within the pale of the Roman Church. On this condition, the Pope agreed to send him twelve thousand troops and seven hundred thousand gold crowns. This treaty was secret, because Charles did not wish prematurely to reveal to the Protestants the extent of his preparations. Maurice had refrained from joining the League. He did not wish to take part in a rebellion. He believed Protestantism would be endangered by using force against the Emperor. The League was badly organized. Its members were jealous of each other. Its chief commander, John Frederic, was neither a soldier nor a statesman. Maurice, therefore, proposed a re-organization, in which John Frederic,

Philip, and himself should be on terms of equality. As a soldier and a statesman, he was the best fitted for chief command in case of war. Under either of the other princes alone, success seemed to him impossible. Although good Christians, they were not all able generals, whereas Charles, although not much of a Christian, was an experienced general. John Frederic rejected this plan. Words ensued, and Maurice left, offended. The Emperor was then at Regensburg holding a Diet, to which he had summoned the Evangelical princes. None of the League obeyed the call. Great was the indignation of Protestant Germany on learning that Maurice had formally joined Charles at this critical moment. Still greater was the amazement when it subsequently came out, that Maurice had concluded with Charles a secret treaty, by which he (Maurice) was to receive and retain, as his own, John Frederic's Electorate of Saxony.

Pope Paul III.

Paul feared the Council, because it might unite with the Emperor against him, and offer an opportunity to a considerable party of right-minded Catholics who desired a reform of Church abuses. But far above Council and Protestants, he feared Charles. Thus, although he longed for war, he did not wish to see the Protestants wholly beaten, but rather that the two parties should weaken each other. While Charles was waiting for his re-inforcements, and assuring that the war was in no case directed against the Protestants, but against a League aiming at political independence, the Pope suddenly made public his secret treaty, probably with a view to hasten a conflict. At the same time, he issued a bull, declaring his intention to cleanse the Lord's vineyard with fire and sword, and granting absolution to all who should aid the Emperor in his war. Charles was

infuriated by these Papal measures. The bull represented him as a servant of the Pope, and invested the war with a purely religious character; while the treaty exposed the falsity of his promises to the League, notified the princes of the expected arrival of Papal troops through the Tyrol passes, and fired their armies and subjects with indignant ardor. Why did not the Papal bull and treaty open Maurice's eyes to the duplicity of Charles? Perhaps they did or, at least, began to do so. John Frederic now sent a communication to Charles, demanding his object in recruiting troops. It happened that the eight thousand Spanish soldiers had just arrived. Charles answered, that "his object was to punish disobedient subjects as became an Emperor." He immediately issued the ban against John Frederic and Philip, confiscating their estates and branding them as rebels, who, under the mask of religion, were threatening the peace of Germany. This arbitrary mode of issuing the ban was a violation of the rights of the German nation. John Frederic replied by a warlike defiance, addressed: "*To the person calling himself Charles V. and Roman Emperor.*" Charles took no notice of this insult at the time; but, after bestowing the Electorate upon Maurice, he addressed a communication: "*To the person calling himself John Frederic, Elector of Saxony.*" Had the Protestants now pressed the war under a single competent leader, they might have defeated Charles. Their experienced General Sebastian Schertlin, of Burtenbach, had already occupied the passes of the Tyrol, in order to cut off the Papal troops. The opportunity was lost by indecision, jealousies, and contradictory orders on the part of the commanders. The army remained inactive till Charles, at last, received all his reinforcements from Milan, Naples, and Rome. The prom-

ised seven hundred thousand gold crowns were duly remitted. While Charles, thus strengthened, was preparing to take the offensive, the League was every day growing poorer and weaker, the towns gradually stopped their contributions; the troops were without pay; desertions increased; the winter set in early and with extraordinary severity; and to cap the climax, the news arrived that, in execution of the ban, and at the command of the Emperor, Maurice had seized the Electorate of John Frederic. This brought the campaign to a close. The princes begged for peace. Charles answered that he would never grant a peace till John Frederic and Philip, with their armies, subjects, and lands, should surrender at discretion. They refused. The camp broke up in the last days of November, each prince returning to his own land. Charles, without going into winter quarters, now vigorously pressed the war in South Germany. During the winter, he took all the principal fortresses and towns still included in the League. They were sometimes stormed, and compelled to pay heavy contributions. In this war, Charles appropriated no less than two million gulden, as his share of the plunder.

Before the surrender of Ulm, its commander sent a messenger to Philip, asking for counsel and succor. Philip, in despair, replied: "Every fox must now look out for his own tail."

Battle of Mühlberg. April 24, 1547.

John Frederic, after returning from his unfortunate campaign against the Emperor, forgetting the words: "What king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand," determined to march his troops into the Electorate, of

which, as we have already said, Maurice had taken possession, in execution of the ban, and which, such a measure not having been expected, was left unguarded. John Frederic took, not only his own Electorate, but a great portion of Maurice's Duchy, thus confronting the Emperor and Maurice at the moment of their strength, and of his own weakness. John Frederic then committed another imprudence. He reduced his already feeble army by sending a portion of it to support a rising of the Protestant Bohemians against their king, Ferdinand. At the close of the winter (April), the Emperor came with his army, nominally to punish these new acts of rebellion, which furnished exactly the pretext he desired. John Frederic did not expect a battle. He was in the act of returning from Meissen, in Maurice's Duchy, to his own land; and when he heard that the enemy, whom he supposed to consist only of Maurice's troops, were advancing to the Elbe, he determined to withdraw his forces to the strong fortress of Wittenberg. Burning the Meissen bridge, he advanced as far as Mühlberg, with four thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. Charles came on with seventeen thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry, mostly foreign soldiers, led by Ferdinand, Maurice, Alba, Charles himself in chief command. The news of his approach came to John Frederic while he was in church, where he remained until the end of the service, still under the impression that he was to be attacked by Maurice only. Many historians declare that the battle was a murderous one, and bravely fought on both sides. There was, in fact, no battle at all. On discovering the Imperial army, headed by Charles, the Protestant troops were seized with a panic, and broke into flight. The riders sometimes turned and defended themselves, and

generally escaped. The infantry threw away their muskets as they fled, and were cut down without resistance and without mercy. The road was covered with dead bodies. The massacre was the work of Alba. Maurice was in particular danger of his life. One of the flying dragoons snapped his musket against his back, but it missed fire. He took several prominent prisoners and treated them generously, and is praised by the Imperialists for his bravery and zeal in the pursuit of the enemy. Charles greeted him on the field as Elector of Saxony. Maurice was thus the first Saxon Elector of the Albertine line (now reigning in Saxony as kings).

John Frederic.

Among the prisoners was John Frederic, the only one who had really fought. Alba said: "Had the whole army fought as well, the day might have ended differently." John Frederic was indignant at the flight of his army. He bitterly remarked: "*I am richer than my Lord Jesus. He had at table with Him only one traitor, but I have had many.*" Severely wounded and covered with blood, the unfortunate prince was brought by Alba before Charles. His eyes were full of tears as he respectfully addressed his conqueror: "*Almighty and most merciful Emperor!*" — "*Oho!*" interrupted Charles, "*now I am your most merciful Emperor. You have not given me my title for a long time.*"—John Frederic answered: "*I am your Imperial Majesty's prisoner. I ask accommodations befitting a prince.*"—Charles: "*You shall have such accommodations as you have deserved. Now, out of my sight!*" (*Geht nur hinweg!*)

It would have been at this moment noble in Charles to remember that John Frederic's uncle had put the crown upon his head. Instead of this, he caused his captive, a German prince and Elector, to be tried by a

military court, consisting of Spaniards and Italians, who immediately condemned him to death. John Frederic was playing chess with his fellow-prisoner, the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, when the sentence was read to him. He remarked: "I did not think His Majesty would deal so harshly with me. I hope he will give me time to arrange my family affairs." Then turning to the Duke, who was appalled at the sentence, he said: "Attend to your game!" and presently added, "Checkmate." Several of the Emperor's counselors pressed for immediate execution, but there were weighty political reasons against it. Even Alba and Granvelle thought it unwise to perpetrate in Germany such an act against a German prince. The sentence was, therefore, commuted to imprisonment for life. Some believe that Charles himself never really intended to execute his prisoner, but only to frighten Wittenberg into a capitulation.

Philip of Hesse had not taken part in this battle; but the League was so shattered that, on the advice of his son-in-law, Maurice, and Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, he agreed to surrender, on condition that he should suffer no punishment. Maurice and Joachim had acted as mediators between Charles and the League. They had done all in their power to prevent the Battle of Mühlberg. They now endeavored to save Philip from the loss of his lands and liberty; proposed the surrender to Charles, and requested the latter to confirm, by a written convention, the terms to which he had verbally agreed. Charles replied that he would not make such a convention in writing. His Imperial authority required unconditional surrender; but he gave his word to Maurice and Joachim that, upon such surrender, Philip should not suffer imprisonment, or any

Philip of Hesse.

other punishment whatever. He did not wish the pardon to be compulsory; but he would extend it voluntarily as an act of magnanimity. Thus authorized, the two Electors went out to fetch Philip, with the capitulation signed. Before starting, they sought another audience of the Emperor, and asked him again if they had rightly understood him, and if, on Philip's surrender without written conditions, he could depend on the private verbal condition that he should not suffer any punishment at all. The Emperor replied, with an air of offended dignity: "It is not my habit to inflict punishment, in violation of my promise." After the departure of the princes, the Emperor was observed to be in unusually high spirits.

The ceremony of surrender had been arranged to take place in the following manner: Philip was personally to appear before the Emperor, and, in a kneeling position, to present him a petition for mercy. Charles had invited his whole court and a brilliant society to behold the humiliation of his enemy. Philip entered and knelt before his sovereign, who kept him kneeling a considerable time till the petition was read through. He at length arose, believing, as did his vouchers and friends, that he was free. The Emperor did not then, as usual on such occasions, extend his hand to him, but he was courteously invited to supper by Alba. After the repast, and while engaged in a game of chess, he was suddenly arrested. "This," says Ranke (who, with characteristic conscientiousness, has thoroughly investigated the incident), "was a Spanish trick, several times practiced." At a subsequent period, Alba, in the same way, entrapped Egmont and Horn.* The story, related by nearly all other historians, that the written capitulation stipulated Philip

* Ranke, "Zur Geschichte der Reformation." IV. Band.

should not suffer any imprisonment, and that by the aid of a penknife, the word *perpetual* was substituted for *any*, is incorrect. But the fraud actually practiced was, if possible, more infamous. Ferdinand had no part in this affair, and disapproved of it.

We may imagine the astonishment and indignation of Maurice. By joining Charles, he had sacrificed his allies and his reputation. He had induced Philip to surrender, pledging his own personal honor. He remonstrated, but his remonstrance was disregarded. The character of the Emperor and of his confidential advisers, and the projects they were carrying on, began to break upon him. If his eyes had not been opened before, they were so now, and his fiery nature revolted every day more and more. Charles not only retained John Frederic and Philip prisoners, but treated them with severity and contempt, dragging them around in his train in various journeys, thus publicly proclaiming his triumph over German liberty. He exclaimed: "*Is it possible that God can so deeply degrade princes!*" The sight of the two unhappy prisoners, thus exposed to public view, awakened compassion even in their Catholic enemies.*

Granvelle.

We can not but be struck with the character of these three persons: Charles, Alba, and Granvelle, who stood, it may be said, at the head of Europe, as leaders of civilization and representatives of Christianity. It was Granvelle who, twenty years subsequently, as the instrument of Philip II. of Spain, so cruelly oppressed the Netherlands, and for five years crushed, what he called, "*that mischievous animal, the people.*" When he, at last, left Germany, he carried with him wagons and mules, loaded with silver, gold, jewels, and

* Cantu.

other treasures, received from Electors, princes, cities, etc., as bribes to secure his influence with the Emperor. On being asked what the wagons and mules were loaded with, he answered: "*Peccata Germaniæ!*" (Sins of Germany).

Augsburg Interim.

Maurice, like the Elector Joachim, had, as already stated, refused to break with the Emperor, relying on his repeated assurances that he was not aiming at the destruction of Protestantism. Another opportunity now enabled them to discover that these assurances were as false as those made with regard to Philip's surrender. By the victory of Mühlberg, Charles had reached a height of power which enabled him to act more openly. He had trampled on the liberties of Germany, broken the pride of the princes, destroyed the Smalkaldic League, and prepared the way, for what he called the "*settlement of the religious question.*" He therefore, at last, came out with his famous "*Interim*," so called, because it was to be valid only till the definitive settlement of the controversy, and he convoked a Diet, at Augsburg, for the purpose of obtaining its sanction. The edict required obedience from the entire Empire, Catholic and Protestant. It confirmed all the principal Catholic dogmas, and restored the universal and absolute authority of the Roman Church, including the Councils. To save appearances, two points were conceded to the Protestants: 1. The marriage of the priests; 2. The communion, in both forms, to the people. No Protestant country could adopt the Interim, without signing the death-warrant of its Evangelical religion. It was, moreover, obvious that the proposed ultimate regulation of the controversy, at some subsequent uncertain period,

Diet of Augsburg, May, 1548.

was intended to be more destructive to Protestantism even than the present edict. Charles determined to impose his Interim by force. He entered Augsburg with a strong body of military, bringing with him his prisoner, John Frederic, whom he hoped to use as an instrument. The town, and all the surrounding villages, bristled with his Spanish troops. The Diet was called the *Armed Diet.* He believed the Council of Trent would adopt the Interim, and he presented it to the Diet, expressing his earnest wish that nothing should be taught or preached against it. When the document was read (Maurice was present), a dead silence was the only answer of the astounded assembly. The Elector-Bishop of Mayence (successor of Tetzel's partner) alone rose from his place, hailed the Interim as a master-piece of wisdom and a mark of the Emperor's mercy, and promised absolute obedience. Charles received the speech of his parasite as coming from the whole assembly. The Interim was immediately proclaimed as a law of the Empire, published in French, Latin, Italian, and German, and distributed by thousands. It was received in Protestant lands with one unanimous cry of consternation: "*No interim! No exterim! Only the Word of God!*" Many princes and cities protested. Even Catholics wished to reject it on account of the two concessions. By far the greater portion of the population of the Empire had become Protestant.*

Notwithstanding the wishes of the majority of his subjects, Charles persisted in his determination to terrorize the nation. By acts of cruelty, he drove numbers out of South Germany; among others, four hundred Evangelical preachers, with their wives and children, were compelled

* In 1865, the Protestants in Germany, including Austria, amounted, in round numbers, to twenty millions; Catholics, to twenty-two millions.

to wander away without a home. Some States adopted the Interim under the pressure of force. The Bishops of Mayence and Cologne compelled their people to accept it, even without the two concessions. They annulled all the marriages of those priests who had turned Protestant, and declared their children illegitimate. This was, no doubt, according to Charles' secret intention. As the opposition increased, the persecution increased also. Had the struggle been in Spain instead of Germany, history would have a still darker tale to tell. Charles offered John Frederic his freedom, if he would give his public adherence to the Interim. The prince replied: "*I am ready to die, but I will never violate the dictates of my conscience, nor deny my religious faith.*" He steadily refused to accept the Interim, or to acknowledge the Council. Charles, in revenge, increased the discomfort of his prison, deprived him of his books, and even reduced his quantity of meat.

Magdeburg.

The center of opposition was Magdeburg. She had rejected the Interim with scorn. It was she who first raised the cry: "Neither interim, nor exterim, but only the Word of God!" She had opened her gates to all the fugitive enemies of the Emperor. Crowds of persecuted clergy found shelter behind her walls. The ban of the Empire was launched against her. But how was it to be executed? The Emperor, a sufferer from gout, was absorbed by other occupations, and, moreover, refused to supply the necessary money. There were princes able enough, but they were Evangelical, and would not carry on a war against a Protestant town. At length, the Imperial Diet passed a resolution that the ban should be executed at the cost of the Empire, and that Maurice should be authorized to raise

troops and take the chief command. Charles did not propose this appointment, but acquiesced in it. There was a particular reason for choosing Maurice. Nowhere had that prince been more insulted, caricatured, and calumniated than in Magdeburg. He accepted the appointment. Nearly three years had passed since the Battle of Mühlberg. His alliance with Charles had been most unjustly regarded as an apostasy from Protestantism, and had made his name odious in Protestant lands. The Emperor had cheated him in Philip's affair; been false to him with regard to Protestantism; and was, moreover, carrying on treasonable projects against Germany (more particularly noticed hereafter). Maurice had, for some time, brooded over a plan to defeat these projects by force. But how should he proceed to raise an army in time of peace? The appointment by the Imperial Diet rescued him from the dilemma. His proposed enterprise was difficult and dangerous, but it was in accordance with the wishes of nearly all North Germany and a great portion of the Southern States. He immediately entered into secret negotiations with the other Protestant princes, who gladly united under his command, in a League very different from that of Smalkald. Each prince made the necessary preparations in his own domains. The siege of Magdeburg was purposely protracted for fourteen months. A secret treaty was concluded (1551) with Henry II., King of France, who, on the cession to him of the fortresses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun (to be held as fiefs of the Empire), engaged to pay two hundred thousand florins, and declare war against Charles at the proper time.

In March, the people of Germany were astounded by a proclamation from Maurice, announcing that the country was in danger; that Charles had violated his oath as

sovereign, and was destroying the rights and liberties of Germany. It pointed out his intrigues with the Council; his corruption in the Imperial Diet; his contemptuous treatment of German subjects; his endeavors to overawe the Empire by Spanish troops; his arbitrary changes in municipal government; his misuse of the Imperial signet, etc., etc. Every German consenting to submit to these treasonable acts was himself a traitor, and deserved to be a slave of priests and Spanish soldiers.

Proclamation, 1552.

The proclamation struck a chord in the very heart of Germany, and even Italy. Protestants and Catholics had been offended at the arbitrariness of the Interim. The old German spirit was up. The deposition of the Emperor was discussed. Germany thus stood on the brink of a great civil war, which might become European. This would open the gates to the Turks, already fast advancing toward the frontier.

After the Proclamation.

Charles was at Innspruck, entirely without troops, suffering from gout, and waiting milder weather to join the Council at Trent. He had received warnings regarding Maurice which he thought unworthy of attention. "*One must not*," he said, "*be blown about by every idle wind.*" Granvelle encouraged his confidence, by declaring: "*The stupid, drunken Germans have not sense enough to form a plan which I can not discover and defeat.*" He had sent two agents, in fact spies, to report; but Maurice had conducted his measures with such extraordinary skill as completely to baffle those agents. Against the cunning jailer of Philip (of Hesse), he thought himself justified in opposing cunning. If any apprehension had existed in

Charles flees from Innspruck.

the Emperor's mind, it had been quite removed, just before the proclamation, by a message from Maurice, who sent one of his chief counselors to report that the siege was satisfactorily progressing, and that he himself would speedily arrive at Innspruck on a visit to the Emperor. Charles thus thought himself successful and secure. The great plan of his life was accomplished; the Interim nearly established; the religious question settled; the princes humbled; the house of Hapsburg placed on a solid foundation and built up to the highest point of greatness. On the news that Maurice was in arms, he at first believed the affair had been got up by that prince and Joachim, to effect Philip's liberation; and he declared, in a rage, that, rather than yield, he would "*divide Philip's body into two parts, and present a part to each Elector.*" The proclamation, however, opened his eyes, and he was soon astounded by the information that Maurice, at the head of an irresistible army, was advancing to seize the person of his sovereign; that the principal South German fortresses were already in his hands; that he had occupied the strong pass of the Ehrenberger Clause, in the Tyrol; and had even taken Augsburg, the seat of so many Diets, the very center of the Empire. Charles, in consternation and despair, looked around in vain for aid, or even counsel. Had it not been for a kind of mutiny among some of Maurice's troops, that prince would have arrived in time, as the Protestants expressed it, "*to catch the fox in his hole.*" Two days, however, before his arrival, the suffering Emperor had been removed in a litter, amid torrents of rain mixed with snow, across the Brenner pass, in the Tyrol, over a road rising more than four thousand feet above the sea, from which he descended to Villach, a town in the Valley of

Carinthia. The journey occupied nine days. While thus fleeing, did he think of his former remark: "*Is it possible that God can so degrade princes?*" His escape released Maurice from some embarrassment. "*He had not,*" he said, "*a cage for so big a bird.*"

Charles after his flight.

This achievement placed Maurice, for the moment, at the head of Germany. The Emperor was, at first, entirely helpless. Although only fifty-two years of age, his health had suffered from heavy labor and the pleasures of the table. In Maurice, he had found his man; no John Frederic, risking a great struggle without preparation; no Philip, leaving "every fox to look after his own tail"; but a resolute soldier, who wanted what was right, and had the will and power to inforce it. In the person of Maurice, Germany confronted Spain; and Protestantism confronted the Papal power, the Jesuits, the Inquisition, and the *auto da fé*. Charles' position was not only dangerous, but ridiculous. His prestige was gone. All Germany was laughing at him,—even the Catholics, even Ferdinand, who disapproved the violations of German liberty, and resented the attempt to place Charles' son, Philip, on the German throne. There is reason to believe that Ferdinand had long known Maurice's designs, and had not withheld a helping hand.

Charles at Villach.

On reaching Villach, Charles cast his eyes around to see what could be done toward raising an army. He applied to the Catholic Electors. The Bishop of Treves answered: "He would ever remain faithful to his liege, but he could now do nothing without his counselors." Similar answers came from Cologne and Mayence. Charles resolved to appeal to the Council; but that body, and with it, the whole town of Trent, was

dispersing in the greatest panic. Prelates and laymen, upper and lower classes, fled; "some high up among the mountains, some low down toward the sea, some to the deep forests, some to the strongest fortified towns."* He then turned to Ferdinand, who truthfully replied, that the Turks were advancing into Hungary, and he could not spare a single soldier. He then thought of his daughter (wife of Ferdinand's son, Maximilian), but at that moment he received a request from her for the payment of her dowry, three hundred thousand ducats. (This request had been made at the suggestion of Maximilian, who disliked Charles.) The Emperor then asked a loan from the great banking-houses of Augsburg. They expressed deep regret at their utter inability to oblige him. On the Eastern frontier, the Sultan Solyman threatened not only Hungary, but the whole Empire; while, from the West, came news that France had declared war, and seized the three fortresses. The Pope might have helped Charles, but was prevented by the hostile attitude of Henry II. Thus, as a chess-player, at the cry "*Checkmate!*" examines the board, and convinces himself that he has not another move, so Charles perceived that he must, at least for the present, give up the game. He consented, therefore, to a meeting of the princes at Passau, for the purpose of agreeing upon the conditions of temporary peace, until the meeting of another Imperial Diet. He wished to put off the proceedings, in the hope that some opportunity might meanwhile offer to do away with them altogether.

The chief princes, ecclesiastical and temporal, Catholic and Protestant, met at Passau, to decide upon the terms of peace. They did not form a Diet which the Emperor

* Ranke.

could convoke or dismiss, but an assembly not unlike those parliaments in the earlier stages of the Empire, which voluntarily came together in important crises, to elect a king, or to save the country. The Emperor gave his consent, because he could not help it, and sent Ferdinand as his representative. The Pope, for the same reason, appointed Bishops as his Legates. The assembly differed in another respect from any other held in Germany on the subject of the Reformation. On most previous occasions, the Catholics had met to weaken and, if possible, to destroy Protestantism. The Protestants had now become so numerous and powerful that the Catholics feared they might themselves be destroyed. The alliance of Protestant princes with the King of France was a desperate, but successful remedy. It threatened civil war and the breaking asunder of the Empire into an Austrian-Catholic and a French-Protestant Germany. But it placed the Protestants in so commanding a position, that Maurice dictated a treaty which, but for the obstinate opposition of Charles, would have proved satisfactory and permanent. The articles of the treaty were as follows:

Treaty of Passau, June, July, 1552.

I. The decree of Spire, which clothed each German State with a right to regulate its own affairs; and which had been canceled, should be restored.

II. Universal amnesty should be proclaimed.

III. An unconditional perpetual peace should be declared between Catholics and Protestants, whatever might be the decisions of future Diets, etc., and whether the parties could come to an agreement or not respecting a form of worship.

IV. The right, promised, of Evangelical Judges to sit in the Supreme Court (Kammergericht).

Ferdinand, as the representative of the Emperor, appended his signature to these resolutions (June 7), in return for which Maurice promised personally to aid Ferdinand against the Turks in Hungary.

More than two months had now elapsed since Charles' flight. He had recovered from his consternation, conceived new hopes, and entered into new intrigues. When Ferdinand produced the Treaty, he refused to ratify it, partly because it impaired his authority as Emperor, and partly, he said, from conscientious scruples. He, at first, attempted to reject every concession, and was only prevented by Ferdinand, who reminded him that the Turks were advancing in large force, and that Protestant allies were absolutely indispensable. Charles then ratified the treaty, but in a mutilated form. Religious freedom was guaranteed only till the next Diet. The perpetual peace was rejected.

After Passau.

As Charles had foreseen, Maurice's position, after the treaty of Passau, became weaker and his own stronger. Maurice knew the Emperor would never forgive him, and that he only waited an opportunity to depose him from the Electorate and place him under the ban. John Frederic could now easily have regained his Electorate by acknowledging the Interim, but he nobly persisted in refusing. Maurice, therefore, signed the treaty, mutilated as it was, and, according to his promise, joined Ferdinand in Hungary.

Notwithstanding its modifications, the treaty was very advantageous. The Protestants had nothing more to fear for the present. Liberty of conscience and peace, with all their blessings, seemed again secured. John Frederic, Philip, Schertlin, the four hundred Protestant clergymen, and many others, released from prison or banishment,

streamed back to their homes amid general acclamations. Space fails to describe the reception of John Frederic by his family, friends, and people, after his five years' imprisonment. Melanchthon likened him to Daniel coming out of the lions' den. The prince died two years later, often humbly repeating his favorite hymn: "*What pleases God, pleases me also!*"

War of Charles to regain Metz.

Charles now raised an army to regain Metz. His son Philip sent him from Spain a million ducats. He strengthened his army with troops drawn from Naples and Spain. He was soon so strong that he might again have attacked the Protestants had he not been prevented by the French and Turkish wars. Maurice's absence in Hungary favored his plans. He determined first to wrest his lost fortresses from France, and then to turn his victorious army to such use as circumstances might permit. Notwithstanding the lateness of the season (September 19, 1552), on the very bad advice of Alba, he marched his troops to Metz.

The Margrave Albert of Brandenburg-Culmbach, called Alcibiades.

The Margrave Albert of Brandenburg-Culmbach, whose estates were Beyreuth and Hof, although Protestant, had been in the Emperor's service during the Smalkaldic war. He was an old comrade of Maurice, and, when prosperous and sober, had proved a good soldier and a genial companion, but had gradually degenerated into a brutal robber-knight,—drinking, gambling, always engaged in raids to plunder his neighbors and in bloody feuds, particularly against the covetous and arrogant Roman Bishops. He was a kind of Wallenstein, seeking to make his fortune in any way, and in the service of any party, sometimes reveling in wealth, sometimes reduced to pov-

erty. His appearance on his raids is represented as that of a formidable brigand, armed to the teeth, a short musket and pistols at his side, his countenance covered with freckles, the lower part overgrown with a heavy red beard, his long hair floating on his shoulders, rolling his eyes fiercely around, with a lighted torch in his hand to kindle the castles, palaces, villages, or forests of his enemy. It was said of him: When the Margrave goes on a raid, he leaves behind him a track of desolation, as by whirlwind, thunder, lightning, and fire. He was, nevertheless, not without noble qualities. He sympathized with the helpless and oppressed, and notwithstanding his licentiousness and brutality, kept faith in the Gospel, a faith not strong enough to curb his passions, but which sometimes filled him with remorse, and added to the wildness of his character. He was a favorite of the common people, who hated the Bishops, and longed for a revolution. In the undertaking against Charles, which resulted in the flight from Innspruck, the Protestant princes had taken Albert into their service, and, according to the customs of those times, formally bestowed upon him the right to attack and plunder, on his own account, any prince who refused to join them. This right was exercised, chiefly, against the Bishops.

The Bishops.

There were in the Empire about thirty bishoprics, established by former pious Emperors, beginning with Charlemagne. They were intended to be centers of civilization, morality, and religion, but many had become centers of demoralization and unbelief. We have a specimen of this corruption in Bishop Albert of Mayence, who appointed Tetzel as his agent, in the last indulgence speculation; and whose court was marked by open, impudent sensuality, and dissoluteness. The

following circumstance will help to explain the hatred with which these haughty prelates were regarded by the people. It was the right of the princes to tear out the eyes of any man found poaching on their grounds. The Bishop of Salzburg (1537) arrested a peasant who had killed a deer (which was destroying the harvest in his own field), caused the offender to be sewed up in the skin of the deer, and torn to pieces by his dogs. It was the tendency of the Reformation to do away with these Bishoprics, secularize them, confiscate their property, and transform them into Protestant States. The Bishops were often oppressors of the poor, and merciless persecutors of Protestantism. Maurice and his colleagues thought themselves justified in making war upon them; and Albert rejoiced at any opportunity to acquire fame, territory, and fortune. He had entered upon his campaign with some respect for form. He besieged, one after the other, the strongholds of several Bishops, in each case offering peace on certain conditions: I. They were to join the war against Charles. II. To pay Albert an enormous contribution, or surrender the whole or part of their territories. These terms were sometimes partly accepted, in which case they were drawn up in the form of a regular treaty as between two belligerent potentates. When the terms were refused, the troops were let loose upon the enemy, with liberty to practice all the license by which soldiers have so often rendered themselves execrable. The Bishop of Bamberg surrendered one third of his estates. Würzburg assumed a large portion of Albert's debts. Nuremberg refused the terms, and closed her gates. Albert besieged the town, and inflicted a damage of one and a half million gulden. He caused twelve citizens of Nuremberg to be hung together on the trees around the

town. The surrounding forests, castles, houses, and villages were burned. The Bishop, at last, stipulated to pay two hundred thousand gulden. At Ulm, these atrocities were repeated. At one time, twenty villages were in flames. Maurice, and the other Protestant princes, repeatedly commanded Albert to desist from these atrocities, but their remonstrances only increased his fury. They had let loose a mad bull, and found themselves unable to control his movements. Albert's campaign was suddenly brought to a close by the Treaty of Passau. Maurice had proposed that the lands, already actually seized by Albert, should remain in his possession. This the Bishops refused. The treaty would have been lost had not Maurice yielded. Albert was thus sacrificed. Not only the future opportunity to retrieve his fortunes was cut off, but he was called upon to restore the lands, and pay back the money he had appropriated; and he was called upon to do this by the very party who had bestowed upon him the right of seizure, and that after he had performed the stipulated conditions. The French King, Henry II., also felt himself insulted by the Treaty of Passau, and Albert resolved to enter his service.

On his way to Metz, Charles met Albert, at the head of ten thousand men, repairing to the French camp. An alliance between Albert and Henry would have been ruin to Charles. The Emperor, therefore, opened negotiations with Albert, for the purpose of procuring his aid in conducting the siege. Charles had more than one reason for wishing to draw the powerful adventurer into his own service. Henry had made him large offers, but Charles offered still more. He promised princely rank in the Imperial army; ample opportunity to acquire gold, and a confirmation of Albert's treaties with the Bishops. On

receiving these offers, Albert cast a keen, scrutinizing glance into the eyes of Charles to see whether he was cheating him or not; for he, also, had some experience of the Emperor's ways. His glance seemed satisfactory, and they proceeded together to Metz.

What was Charles' motive in seeking this alliance? Did he wish to punish the Bishops for not standing more firmly by him in the Treaty of Passau, and to revenge himself on Maurice and the Protestant princes? It was universally believed that he hoped, through Albert, to regain his power and resume his old plans. Only a very strong motive could have induced him to confirm the treaties, for they had been concluded against the Bishops, because those princes would not abandon the Imperial cause.

Charles abandons the siege of Metz, January, 1553.

All the Emperor's hopes of *settling the religious question* now depended upon taking Metz. They were disappointed. The fortress was successfully defended. The cold increased. Torrents of rain flooded the fields. The Italian and Spanish troops could not bear the climate, and the siege was abandoned. (The war, however, went on till 1556, *i. e.*, till the Emperor's abdication.) Charles was now reduced to a great extremity. His arbitrary government had alienated his Italian subjects. Henry II. not only retained Metz, but had made conquests in Italy, and had forced the Pope to an armistice. The combined French and Turkish fleet was threatening Naples.

Albert of Culmbach, after Metz.

Among the consequences of Charles' failure to take Metz, was his inability to perform his promises to Albert. The Bishops refused to abandon their territories, or to pay the stipulated contributions. The Protestant princes could not violate

the Treaty of Passau. Charles' promises to Albert were thus broken, and this, after the performance of his conditions; just as those of Maurice, and the other Protestant princes, had been broken. The thought that he had been purposely circumvented and cheated, used as an instrument and then cast contemptuously away, inflamed Albert's passions to the wildest fury. He raised the standard of insurrection equally against Catholic and Protestant, and attempted a revolution. He hoped to break the Treaty of Passau, destroy Maurice, and open for himself an ample field for plunder and revenge. His army of ten thousand rapidly increased. Many Evangelical towns joined him, because he was fighting against the Bishops. He led his troops wherever he hoped for the richest spoil. A large number of towns fell into his hands,—among others, Schweinfurth, Bamberg, Trier; twenty-one cities, three hundred villages, besides castles and monasteries, were burned. His force acquired strength as it advanced. Malcontents, of all classes, crowded into his camp. Germany was threatened with a new civil war. Where was the Emperor at this time? Why did he not lay the audacious rebel under the ban?

Maurice returns from Hungary.

The war in Hungary had been going on disastrously for Ferdinand, when, after the Treaty of Passau, Maurice reached the field with an army of eleven thousand men. This force, in connection with the severe winter, checked for a time the farther advance of the Turks.*

On learning Albert's outbreak, Maurice hastened back

* Two incidents give some idea of these Turkish wars. After storming Temesvar, the Pasha Achmet carried off, as trophies, four thousand noses, cut off from the Christians, and the skin of the Christian commander of Temesvar, Lossow, stuffed with straw. During the command of Maurice in Hungary, that prince received a present of three hundred Turkish heads.

to his Electorate, and formed a League with the Duke of Brunswick, Ferdinand, the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, Philip of Hesse, and other princes, for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion. From the beginning, he saw the Emperor's hand in it, and feared that, among other consequences, it might overthrow the Treaty of Passau. He promptly collected a large military force, including a considerable body of troops from Ferdinand, and about seven hundred riders from Philip of Hesse. Albert determined to stake all on a battle.

Battle of Sievershausen, July 9, 1553.

The forces met at Sievershausen, and, considering the numbers engaged, the battle is declared to have been one of the most murderous ever fought. It resulted in the total rout of the insurgents. When Albert saw his squadrons cut to pieces, or flying in a panic, accompanied by a few chosen desperadoes, with a dark countenance, and pretty drunk, he plunged his spurs into his horse's flanks, and galloped away.

Death of Maurice.

The victory was complete, but Maurice had fallen in the thickest of the battle, and just as his enemies were flying. He took the communion in both forms, and died on the second day. As his soul passed, he uttered the words: "*God will come.*"

On the field lay four thousand dead. Among them, two sons of the Duke of Brunswick, four princes, nine counts, and several hundred noblemen.

Death of Albert of Culmbach.

The death of Maurice encouraged Albert to make another attempt. He was again defeated; declared under the ban by the Imperial Chamber, and at last (when it could no longer be helped), by the Emperor. He then fled into France; his estates, after being frightfully devastated,

were torn from him. Some years afterward (1557), he returned to Germany, broken-hearted, and died in the Castle of Pforzheim, Baden, at the age of thirty-five. He had deeply repented his robber-life, had become a sincere Christian, and regarded his ruin and early death as a just judgment of God. In his last days, he wrote several hymns, which are still sung in German churches.

The Diet promised to the Protestants at Passau had been three years delayed by events, some of which we have just related. It was finally opened, not by the Emperor, but by Ferdinand, with full power to settle the pending question. *Peace of Augsburg, February, March, 1555.* The Catholics had learned from experience that without concessions, the Empire would never rest in peace. But Charles had always struggled against concessions to the Protestants. He was now ashamed personally to open a Diet convoked to proclaim these concessions, in the very town where he had rejected the Augsburg Confession, and where, supported by Spanish troops, he had attempted to force the Interim upon the nation. His power was broken, his pride humbled, the great aim of his life had failed. He, therefore, sent Ferdinand to open the Diet, and himself left Germany for the Netherlands (where he intended shortly to appear for the last time before the public, in the ceremony of his abdication). At this Diet of Augsburg, after long and vehement debates, thirty-eight years after the publication of the ninety-five theses by Luther, the following points were agreed upon, in behalf of the Protestants:

I. Perpetual peace between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches.

II. Liberty of conscience.

III. The right of the Protestants to worship, as well in Catholic as in Protestant lands.

IV. No one to be prosecuted for joining the Evangelical faith.

V. Equal rights in the Supreme Court.

VI. Equal political rights for Protestants and Catholics.

VII. Catholic-Church property, actually in their hands, to remain with the Protestants.

VIII. These concessions, and others hitherto granted exclusively to the Lutheran Church, were now extended to all Evangelical denominations in Germany.

The circumstance that, in consequence of the death of Julius III., the two Cardinal Legates, the most bigoted opponents of Protestantism, were called from the assembly to Rome, to vote in a conclave for a new Pope, facilitated the work of conciliation.

But Maurice was now in his grave, and the Roman Church and the Jesuits had not conceded so much without intending to ask for an equivalent. They had been compelled to accept their past and present defeats; but they declared the Roman Church must not be left defenseless in the future. Unless protected by dykes, all Germany might one day be flooded by Evangelical doctrines. They, therefore, presented two resolutions:

I. Every ecclesiastical prince or elector who should adopt the Evangelical faith, should forfeit his office, estates, and income.

II. With the exception of cities, the people of each State should follow the religion of the reigning sovereign, or emigrate.

The Bishops thus took back with one hand what they had given with the other. The fatal clauses were wrung from the Protestants by force. Ferdinand, who had hon-

estly fought for them in the other articles, declared that, unless they yielded in these, he would dissolve the Diet, which would endanger, if not destroy, the treaty. The Protestants were unable to resist. They had already received greater privileges than had ever been accorded before. The Bishops had a right to remind them that, although the phrase *mutual concessions* had long been on their lips, and, although the Catholics had made many concessions, the Protestants had, in reality, yet made none. As it was not possible to agree on these two clauses, the Bishops, by what was called the "*reservatum ecclesiasticum*" (the ecclesiastical reservation), maintained their claim, and the Evangelical princes protested against it. The "*reservatum ecclesiasticum*" was, accordingly, published as a law of the Empire, side by side with the protest of the Evangelical estates. The peace, in which we can not help fancying we see the hand of Charles, was pregnant with bloody and, no doubt, premeditated consequences, and therefore called the False Peace. But, perhaps, no treaty could have prevented the frightful events which followed.

Thoughts on Maurice.

Maurice rendered such great services to Protestantism and to Germany, that we pause to examine the charges against him. His name has been held up to obloquy by all parties; John Frederic, the Smalkaldic League, Catholics, Protestants, Imperialists, even theologians, because he held himself aloof from the rancorous, religious controversies of that time. He has generally been considered a traitor to his cousin, John Frederic, to his country and his religion. It can not be denied that he betrayed the Emperor; that he fought against the Protestants at Mühlberg; and that he seized for himself the Electorate

of Saxony. We brand the Jesuitical teaching that the end justifies the means; and, should the principle of authority be overthrown in the world, we know that society will sink into chaos, and that darkness will again be upon the face of the deep; yet justice requires that every accused person be allowed to defend himself.

With regard to the Electorate, it must be remembered that John Frederic was (contrary to Maurice's advice) in open rebellion against the Emperor; that he had been declared under the ban; that his Electorate was legally confiscated; that the Emperor had announced his intention of bestowing it upon Ferdinand; and that by accepting it for himself, Maurice took the only way to save it from becoming a Catholic State. . There is, moreover, reason to believe that, but for his early death, had John Frederic met him half way, Maurice would have restored the Electorate to him at the proper time.

Maurice fought against the Protestants at the Battle of Mühlberg. He had never joined the League. He trusted in the possibility of a peaceable arrangement, and believed that open rebellion would destroy Protestantism, as indeed, for the time, it did. That Maurice was a sincere and unwavering Protestant, is proved by his life and death. He fought, at Mühlberg, against the League, not as Protestants but as rebels. Had he not done so, he would himself have been destroyed, and by his destruction Protestantism would have lost a powerful defender. There would then have been no military leader, no flight from Innspruck, no Treaties of Passau and Augsburg. All Europe would, perhaps, now be Catholic. Maurice had advised the League to propose a compromise on the following basis: If the Emperor would guarantee their rights, the Protestants would join

him against the Turks, and apply the Catholic-Church property in their hands to the payment of war expenses. John Frederic refused.

Maurice betrayed the Emperor, using the Imperial army and forming a secret alliance with a foreign enemy, to overthrow the power of Charles. Had he been taken prisoner in the perpetration of this act, he would have been shot, as a matter af course, by any court-martial. But we must bear in mind the extenuating circumstances. There is a traitor in American history, Benedict Arnold, about whom there can be no difference of opinion. He betrayed his country for gold and for revenge. Examine the circumstances; look into the archives; the more you examine, the more you will cry out:

> "Thou art a traitor!
> From the extremest upward of thy head
> To the descent and dust beneath thy feet,
> A most toad-spotted traitor!"

With Maurice it is quite different. The Electors of Germany had appointed the King of Spain Emperor, on certain conditions. Maurice was now an Elector. Charles had broken the conditions. The object of Maurice was to save Protestantism and German liberty. Charles had decoyed him into his immediate service by assurances that, after the suppression of the Smalkaldic insurrection, he would confirm the Protestants in all their rights. Maurice had helped to quell the insurrection, but, instead of performing his promise, Charles was openly using every effort to trample Protestantism out of existence; to urge the German princes to abolish all barriers against despotism, and to bring Germany under the yoke of Spain and Catholicism. He was, in fact, destroying Germany and the Evangelical religion. He had extinguished, or

was endeavoring to extinguish, every spark of spiritual and political liberty in Spain and the Netherlands, and had burned crowds of heretics in those countries. He had overawed the German Diet by means of Spanish troops. He was, as we have seen, endeavoring to place his son Philip upon the Imperial throne. As neither Ferdinand nor the Electors would consent to this, Charles had formed a new plan. Ferdinand was to be next Emperor, and Philip, King of Rome; after Ferdinand's death, Philip was to become Emperor, and Maximilian, Ferdinand's son, King of Rome.* In this way, Charles aimed at retaining the throne for three generations; bringing Germany and the Netherlands under one Catholic Spanish scepter. The reader need scarcely be reminded that this Philip was the almost supernaturally cruel and bigoted tyrant, subsequently known as Philip II., King of Spain (1556–1598). He governed as an evil spirit. No one was allowed to speak in his presence; when a word was unavoidable, it could be spoken only in a kneeling position. Through the Inquisition, by burning, torturing, quartering alive, he succeeded in annihilating Protestantism in Spain, and he sent Alba to perpetrate the same horrors in the Netherlands. On his death-bed, he repented of his sin; not the sin of murdering so many, but of not having murdered more. This Philip was the man whom Charles had determined to place upon the German throne. Had Maurice remained with the Smalkaldic League, had he not fought under the Emperor at Muhlberg, and afterward turned the military force under his command against his master, Philip II. might have been German Emperor, and Germany degraded to a Spanish province, in the

* *King of Rome.* When the Electors bestowed upon a person the title of "King of Rome," they designated him as next successor to the German throne.

hands of the Jesuits, supported by the Inquisition and the *auto da fe*. Did Maurice foresee all these contingencies? Did he act in obedience to the rule laid down by "Peter and the other Apostles": *We ought to obey God rather than men.* The opinion is gaining ground that he did. His manuscript letters, preserved in the Saxon Archives, are among the most interesting and fascinating documents of that time. They state his motives and feelings, and give the reader glimpses into the mind of a gifted statesman and resolute patriot, who turned traitor, not to destroy his country, but to save it from a greater traitor. In one of these letters, Maurice declared himself ready to stake life and honor in a war to defeat the projects of Charles. "Nothing," he adds, "could be more injurious to the public interest than withholding full confidence from me in the enterprise I am about to undertake. Should that confidence be withheld, I can only say: 'In God's name, farewell to Germany!'"*

Under these circumstances, Maurice, with the approbation of the majority of the German people and following the example of other princes, drew his sword and cut the Gordian knot. To resume a figure already used, he considered Charles, supported by the Roman Church, the Jesuits, Alba, and Granvelle, not only as a chess-player, but as one who was trying to cheat him. He regarded his own measures as counter-moves on the board. John Frederic, Philip, the Smalkaldic League, the Electorate, his own life and reputation were pieces, to be taken or thrown away, as the game required. The chess-player, to beguile an idle hour, may challenge an

* Maurenbrecher. See also: Moritz von Sachsen, von Dr. v. Langenn. Leipsic, 1841. Also: Moritz v. Sachsen, von George Voigt, Leipsic, 1876.

honorable opponent with: "*Check to your castle! Check to your queen!*" but Maurice was playing for his country and his religion. He could not properly give any other notice than *checkmate!* The more we examine, the better we shall think of Maurice, but not of Charles. These remarks do not constitute a full defense. The real questions are not touched upon, and no historian can answer them. Perhaps Maurice could not have answered them himself. They are as follows:

I. In accepting the Electorate, was he actuated only by the wish to save that territory from being Catholicized, or by the desire to acquire it for himself?

II. In his rising against Charles, was his real object the rescue of Protestantism and German liberty, or was he seduced by the desire to play a great political part in the drama of nations? Or were these motives mixed together in his mind? Not being able to read the hearts of men, we must judge Maurice by what he accomplished. He saved Protestantism. He defended German liberty. He was the military leader of the Reformation, and he gave his life in the performance of his duty.

Thoughts on John Frederic.

It was the custom of some German States to distinguish their reigning prince, by certain appellations suggested by their character. In Brandenburg, we find Albert Achilles, Albert Alcibiades, Joachim Nestor, Joachim Hector, etc.; in Saxony, Frederic the Wise, John the Constant, Henry the Pious, Frederic Augustus the Just, Anthony the Kind-hearted, etc. John Frederic is known as the Magnanimous. The reader may ask why he has been honored with so lofty a title? In the Smalkaldic war, he is often marked by rashness and folly. As a general and states-

man, it is true, he was not eminent, and even as a Christian, he often forgot very plain warnings. But a man must be judged by his whole life. Notwithstanding his errors and imperfections, John Frederic was marked by great and noble qualities, by true piety and fidelity to his cause, which became more manifest after he had passed through the ordeal of misfortune. His magnanimity was displayed in the composure with which he heard his death sentence, and in the steady firmness with which he resisted, as already related, Charles' endeavors to extort from him an acknowledgment of the Council of Trent, and an acceptance of the Interim, although by these concessions, he might not only have obtained liberty, but regained his Electorate.

Thoughts on Philip of Hesse.

Philip, like most of the Protestant princes, manifested striking weaknesses of character and made mistakes of judgment. He was nevertheless a brave, able soldier; a faithful, powerful co-laborer in the work of the Reformation, and distinguished by military achievements which procured him also the surname of Magnanimous.

Stain on the life of Philip of Hesse, Luther, and Melanchthon.

During his wife's life-time, he married another lady, with the reluctant consent and in the presence of Luther and Melanchthon, who thought there were some peculiar circumstances outweighing the obvious objections. We do not attempt to explain the strange fact. It rests on positive evidence. Philip seems to have muddled his mind with examples from the Old Testament. Philip's wife also consented to the marriage; but how Luther and Melanchthon could so misunderstand the Word of God, we must leave the reader to imagine. They both afterward deeply repented, and Melanchthon, in consequence,

fell into an illness which nearly proved fatal. Ranke relates the incident.

The Leipsic Interim.

When the Emperor attempted to force his Augsburg Interim upon the people, he asked Maurice to introduce it into his Saxon States. Maurice, not yet strong enough to refuse, but determined not to comply, proposed a kind of compromise, and caused another Interim to be drawn by Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, etc., admitting several exterior and unessential Catholic forms and ceremonies, but entirely saving the principle of Protestantism. Charles accepted the agreement, in the hope that it would prove a wedge and open the way for the other Interim. The document was declared a law in the Saxon States, where, however, it was not strictly obeyed, and where the Treaty of Passau abolished it altogether. Maurice and Melanchthon have been unjustly blamed for this Interim. The real question, however, was not: Shall we have the Leipsic Interim or our own form of worship? this they had no power to decide. The question was: Shall we, for the present, accept the Leipsic Interim, which saves Protestantism, or shall we have forced upon us the Augsburg Interim? The ship is menaced by a storm; shall we throw overboard some of the least valuable articles and thus save the rest? or shall we cause the whole ship and cargo to founder?

Abdication of Charles, 1556.

Shortly after, Charles abdicated, leaving Spain, Naples, and the Netherlands (but not Germany) to his son, Philip II. After his abdication, he retired to a cloister at St. Justus, in Spain, not as a monk, but as a private gentleman, and there remained till his death (August, 1558).

His position at the head of Christianity and as owner of half the globe, has caused him to be treated with great respect by some historians. In his numerous wars in Italy, France, Germany, etc., he proved himself a good general. His expedition against Tunis, by which he delivered twenty thousand Christian slaves from the pirate Chaireddin-Barbarossa, made his name famous. He has been praised for traits of magnanimity: after the condemnation of John Frederic, he entered the fortress of Wittenberg as a conqueror; but on finding that some of his suite had forbidden the Lutheran service, he ordered its restoration, saying: "*It is not my intention to change any thing in religion!*" At another time he remarked: "*Every thing in Evangelical lands is quite different from what I supposed;*" and on being advised by his Jesuit environments to exhume and burn the remains of Luther, he replied: "*I war with the living, not with the dead.*" We fancy we hear Alexander the Great. He is often unjustly represented as intemperate. He was a good liver, and enjoyed his capon and flagon of wine, and probably this tendency increased in the latter part of his life. But he detested drunkenness, and in this respect compared very favorably with the Germans of that day; even, if the truth must be confessed, with many of the Protestant princes. His good traits, however, were outweighed by bad ones. The more old archives are brought to light, the more we discover his double-dealing. He was a clever, but heartless politician, chiefly inspired by the ambition to be, and to place his House, at the head of Europe. His bigotry was sincere, but it was weaker than his ambition. He had no real interest in the German Empire nor in the Roman Church,

Thoughts on Charles.

and cared little for the happiness of his subjects. His heart was set alone upon a Spanish Hapsburg Empire, and a Spanish Catholic Church, supreme over Rome and over Europe, and he thought this end justified all means. He was cunning, and made solemn promises with the intention to break them. His duplicity, says a modern German historian, was regarded by his party as the perfection of genius, but by his enemies, as the most infamous subtlety. For example: when his troops, under Freundsberg and the Constable Bourbon (1527), were advancing against Rome, he gave many assurances to Pope Clement VII. of his friendly intentions. He was even so strong in these assurances, that the Pope declared, *he would have trusted the whole world and his own soul to the Emperor.* At this very time, he was continually and secretly urging his generals to let the long unpaid, mutinous soldiery pay themselves by the plunder of the Holy City: "*We shall never do any thing with the Romans*," he wrote, "*till they have been well curried down. It is necessary to cut our straps from other people's leather!*" In a word, he ordered and rejoiced at the sack of the city.* To effect the surrender of Philip of Hesse, he successfully practiced the same kind of trick by which he attempted to win Maurice and destroy Protestantism. He was not a great man nor a good sovereign. He pursued unwise, selfish, and impossible aims by petty, dishonorable means. He had no idea of the serious duties and large opportunities of an Emperor at that period. The Empire was slowly sinking. Its foundations were undermined. Those three greatest factors of history, the fallen Church, Mohammedanism, and the mighty resuscitated Gospel, were

* Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte II., p. 95.

at the same time working against it. The world-crisis was as portentous as that in which Constantine had appeared. Solyman, attracted by the helpless, expiring Empire, as the eagle by a carcass in the desert, was advancing with his vast forces, determined to possess the Western, as he already possessed the Eastern throne. To meet the danger, the Emperor ought (as Maurice had designed) to have avoided a civil war, gathered his subjects around a common standard of righteousness and rational liberty, and presented an unbroken front to their formidable enemies. Charles saw the necessity of settling the religious question. But how did he attempt to settle it? By treading it under foot as a troublesome reptile. He went hand in hand with the Papacy, to extirpate the Evangelical religion. In the Netherlands, he thought he could amputate it like a gangrened limb. He intended to do the same in Germany. He was an energetic, unbending despot in religious matters. There was in his character a vein of blind, savage bigotry. He called around him the worst men of the time. Alba, Granvelle, Glapion (his father-confessor); men who wanted to exhume and burn Luther's bones, and who breathed into their master's ear only Jesuitical views and merciless plans. He seemed insensible to the noble and true. To him, Luther was only a pig-headed monk and an insolent rebel. He knew nothing of the power which the Gospel has always exercised in the political history of mankind. What had rent asunder the old Roman Empire? The Gospel. What was now rending asunder the German Empire? The Gospel. In both cases, the process was the same. The populations were divided. Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation. When Constantine found that the

largest and best portion of the Roman world had adopted Christianity, he raised it to the dignity of a State religion. When Charles made a similar discovery in Germany, he thought, by his Italian and Spanish troops and his Interim, to restore peace and prosperity to the country. It was his duty to try one of two experiments: First, to effect a real reform of the Roman Church; or, if that were not possible, to grant liberty of conscience to all his subjects, Protestant and Catholic. With the Protestant princes on his side, he would have been strong enough to carry through the measure. After the Treaty of Augsburg and before the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War, that experiment was successfully tried. Catholics and Protestants lived together in peace till the Jesuits interfered. The same harmony existed also in France during the eighty years following the Edict of Nantes, when Louis XIV. and his Jesuits also canceled that decree. Charles might have effected not only a religious but a political reform, so eagerly craved by the nation, and which, in the time of Maximilian, the Electors had proposed in vain.

But Charles thought only of building up a great tower of Babel to his own glory. His real character came out more clearly after his abdication. During his reign, his hands were tied by the election capitulation; but in his convent, he no longer concealed his inextinguishable hatred of the Evangelical denominations. On learning their progress in Spain, he wrote to the King, Philip II., urging him to extirpate them, root and branch, by fire and sword. Only a few weeks before his death, he expressed his regret that he had not burned Luther. Amid these thoughts of vengeance and burning, an attack of gout, followed by a burning fever, ended his own existence.

Philip Melanchthon died in Wittenberg, aged sixty-three, five years after the Augsburg Peace, and two years after Charles. In him, a lovely Christian character disappeared from the scene. *Melanchthon dies, April, 1560.* He lived to see the grand work of his own and Luther's life crowned with success. He had followed it through all striking changes:—The Italian wars of Charles, the sack of Rome, the Battle of Mühlberg, the utter prostration of the Protestants, the episode of Maurice, the flight of Charles, the Treaties of Passau and Augsburg, and the final abdication of the disappointed Emperor. As a teacher, Melanchthon had extraordinary success. Two thousand listeners sometimes sat at his feet, not only students and professors, but nobles and princes. Luther was often among them. His last prayer was that the true followers of Christ might be united, according to the words of their Master: "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." A few days before his death, he wrote: "The Reasons why he welcomed Death." First, it would deliver him from sin, and from the acrimony of theologians; secondly, it would bring him into the light of Eternity, the sight of God and His Son, and the full knowledge of those wonderful mysteries of faith which we can but imperfectly understand in this life. While dying, he was asked: "Do you desire any thing?" He replied: "Nothing but heaven."

The gentleness of Melanchthon's character has caused him to be undervalued. His slender form is almost hidden behind the large proportions of the giant, who said to the kingdom of this world: "*I can not retract! I reiterate!*" Yet, a part of the honor belongs to Melanchthon. It was he who taught the learned monk of Wit-

tenberg his Greek and Hebrew;* at least, their deeper meanings and finer shades. This knowledge gave Luther a clearer insight into the Bible; strengthened his faith; inspired him with superior power in his disputes with Cajetan and Eck; and decided him to go on with the Reformation at any hazard. The last prayer of Melanchthon, cited above, ought not to be forgotten by Protestant preachers and congregations. No denominatian can claim to be exclusively the fold of Christ. The true Church is invisible. Its members are among Lutherans and Calvinists; Methodists and Episcopalians; in the household of Nero; with Job in the desert; with Naaman, while bowing down before the god Rimmon; even with the malefactors on the cross; and notwithstanding the sins of the Roman Church, it has always contained, and still contains, faithful worshipers who "*follow the Shepherd, because they know His voice and are known of Him.*"

* Geschichte der Deutschen Nation, von Hermann Michael Richter, page 217.

CHAPTER IX.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 1618–1648.

TO Maurice, Germany owed a peace of about sixty years. The Emperors during this period, up to Ferdinand II., were pacific. France, Spain, and Italy were too busy murdering their own Protestant subjects, to disturb their neighbors. This period, therefore, was comparatively happy for Germany.

From the abdication of Charles to the Thirty Years' War, 1555–1618.

The Thirty Years' War was a renewal of the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. Luther's German translation of the Bible had appeared complete in 1534. Nearly one hundred years had thus been given the Germans to examine the difference between the Gospel preached by Paul, and the Gospel taught and practiced by Rome.

What was the Thirty Years' War?

The Council of Trent had met, notwithstanding the secret opposition of the Popes. It had been finally convoked by Pope Paul III., because he could not help it. The opposition sprang from the fear that it might attempt a reform, as indeed it did. It had assembled at Trent (1545), a year before Luther's death, and sat, with several interruptions, during eighteen years. There was always a party who saw the abuses and desired to remove them. This party in the Council made the following demands: Wine as well as bread in the Sacrament, for the laity; schools for the

Council of Trent.

poor; a better catechism; church-hymns, preaching, and Communion in the language of the people; reform in convents, some of which had become mere houses of immorality; and abolition of celibacy for priests.

The Papal party branded these demands as heresy. The Council, from the beginning to the end, presented a disgraceful spectacle; instead of an assembly of wise and good men, consulting without prejudice, passion, or self-interest, it resembled a meeting of low politicians inspired by mean motives, agitated by noisy and violent dissensions, and often breaking out into acts of personal violence. The reform party was routed. A few subordinate improvements were introduced, mostly connected with Church discipline. On all principal points, the Pope, with his well-trained Old Catholic (Italian) party, obtained a complete triumph. The last measure voted was an exulting proclamation, calling down a curse upon all heretics (that is, upon all who disputed the decisions of the Council).

The Church might, at least, have permitted the Protestants to worship in their own way; but she determined, with fire and sword, to force her views upon the whole of Germany. "The Protestants," says Ranke, "guided by the Scriptures, retraced their steps with ever-increasing firmness toward the primitive forms of Christian faith and life; the Catholics, on the contrary, confronted with unflinching opposition, and repelled with determined hostility whatever could recall the idea of Evangelical doctrines." The Catholics had thus no intention to abandon the struggle; they regarded the century which had intervened as only another *interim*. Hence the Thirty Years' War. At the outset, it had the character of a religious quarrel; but the original question was soon lost

sight of. The war became, at last, little more than a scandalous scramble of European monarchs for territory, power, and gold. Catholic fought against Catholic, Protestant against Protestant. The Emperor played for power, territory, and money; the Pope, to get back the property of the Church, and to restore the shattered battlements of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to their former grandeur; Sweden, for territory; and France, for power over Germany, and for what was called glory.

The French King during this war was Louis XIII. (1610–1643), a mere creature of his minister, Cardinal Richelieu. For the five years of the war after the death of Louis XIII., Louis XIV. was, by right, King, but being in his minority, France was governed by his mother, Queen Anne of Austria, and her minister, Cardinal Mazarin, successor of Richelieu. The Kings of England were: James I. (1603–1625), and Charles I. (1625–1649). The Popes were: Paul V., Gregory XV., Urban VIII., and Innocent X.

The war is generally divided into five periods. 1. War in Bohemia; 2. War in the Palatinate; 3. Danish War; 4. Swedish War; 5. Franco-Swedish War.

Ferdinand I. followed his brother, Charles V., and reigned eight years. The prominent features of his reign were his tolerance of the Protestants, and his continual struggle against the Turks, to whom he had already been compelled to pay tribute, and who, at last, tore from him a considerable portion of Hungary.

Ferdinand I., German Emperor, 1556-1564.

His son, Maximilian, succeeded him. At the end of his reign, twenty years had passed since the abdication of Charles V. Protestantism had strengthened itself in Bohemia, and in nearly all Germany. Maximilian granted

religious freedom in his dominions. Many Austrian nobles had accepted the new doctrine. The Catholics branded Maximilian as a Protestant in disguise.

Maximilian II., 1564-1576.

During his reign (1572) took place in Paris, and then throughout all France, the atrocity called the "St. Bartholomew Massacre," in which Catherine de Medicis and her son, the young King Charles IX., caused the murder of more than fifty thousand Huguenots.* The massacre in Paris continued three days and nights. Although Germany was at that time lulled in peaceful repose, observers could hardly fail to consider this crime as an ominous hint of what Rome would do on the first opportunity. Pope Gregory XIII., on receiving the news of the St. Bartholomew massacre, openly expressed his joy at the "*glorious event*," caused public thanksgivings to be offered, and a coin to be struck in commemoration. A second episode, equally horrible, indicated that the Roman party in Germany was merely crouching, like a lion, to make another spring: namely, the attempt of Philip II. and the Duke of Alba to crush Protestantism by unparalleled executions in the Netherlands (1559–1579). During this period, the Popes were: Pius IV., Pius V., and Gregory XIII. The Pope encouraged Philip, and warned him *to make no concession* contrary to the dogmas of the Church.

Rudolph II. reigned thirty-six years. He was not an enemy of the Reformation; but, absorbed in alchemy and astrology, and passionately fond of horses, he abandoned his country to the Jesuits, and thus suffered it to drift into the frightful war. In order to save Bohemia, where Protestantism

Rudolph II., 1576-1612.

* A nickname of the Protestants. From Eid Genossen, confederates.

had been attacked, he issued a decree, called a Royal Letter ("Majestätsbrief"), granting complete religious liberty. The Jesuits, enraged, persuaded Rudolph to undo what he had done. He, therefore, sent the Catholic Archduke Leopold, with a body of troops, into Prague, for the purpose of keeping order. This produced a riot. Rudolph was arrested, and detained prisoner by the Bohemians until he commanded Leopold to retreat. His brother Mathias profited by the disorders, deposed Rudolph, and himself mounted the Bohemian throne. Rudolph, as he fled, called down a curse upon the city: "*Ungrateful Prague! May the vengeance of Heaven strike thee! My curse alight upon thee and upon all Bohemia!*"

Mathias, 1612-1619.

Mathias, during his reign of seven years, favored the Catholics, and caused Ferdinand, a cruel Roman Catholic bigot, to be elected King of Hungary and Bohemia. Ferdinand had rendered himself notorious by ferocious persecutions of the Protestants in Styria and Carinthia. His election produced immense excitement in Bohemia, particularly in Prague. A Jesuit himself, and governing only through Jesuits, he immediately began to cleanse Bohemia of all Protestants. Some of their churches were closed, or torn down. Protestants were persecuted as criminals, and when they pleaded the law, the Jesuits replied that Ferdinand's election as King had canceled all laws in favor of Protestantism—*Novus rex, nova lex!* This, they declared, was justified by the *Reservatum Ecclesiasticum* in the Augsburg Treaty of Peace. The clause stipulated that the people of each State should follow the religion of the reigning sovereign. The clause, indeed, was there, but modified by two circumstances:

I. Cities were excepted.

II. The Evangelical princes had not agreed to the clause, and had protested against it.

The seed sown by the Jesuits in the false peace was thus now bearing fruit a hundred-fold. The result was an insurrection. Mathias fled to Vienna, after having appointed a regency of four Catholics and three Protestants. The Protestant regents sent a petition to Vienna; the four Catholic regents, at the same time, also sent a report. In reply, the Emperor sternly commanded the Protestants to yield implicit obedience. While the seven regents were assembled at the seat of government,—the royal palace at Prague,—a company of armed men, under the command of Count Thurn, chief of the Protestant insurrection, entered the hall, and demanded of each Catholic regent if he had advocated the Emperor's arbitrary answer. Two replied evasively; the others answered: "Yes, we did." Upon this the four Catholic regents, in conformity with an old Bohemian mode of inflicting punishment, were seized and pitched out of the windows, eighty feet to the ground. A heap of soft material from the palace-yards happily broke their fall. They rose, and succeeded in crawling away. Several shots were fired after them, but no one was hit. In their persons, the King of Bohemia, the Pope, and the Emperor were virtually thrown out of the window. This was the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.*

The insurrection now grew to a full revolution, having at its head Count Mansfeld and Count Thurn. The Imperial troops were beaten, and the Jesuits driven out of the city. The Emperor was in Vienna, in feeble health;

* Shakespeare died (1616) while Mathias was German Emperor, just as this war was breaking out.

he grew worse at this news, and would have adopted conciliatory measures; but Ferdinand dissuaded him, and sent a strong military force to Prague. Thurn and the insurgents drove this army back, followed it to Vienna, and came very near taking the city, when a body of Austrian cavalry arrived, checked the victory of the Protestants, and the favorable opportunity was lost. No permanent preparation had been made to pay, or even feed, the Protestant army. Stormy weather suddenly set in, and necessitated a retreat to Prague. At this moment Mathias died, and Ferdinand was immediately elected Emperor of Germany.

Death of Mathias.

Ferdinand, with his Jesuits, had determined to recapture all the Church property which had passed into the hands of the Protestants, and to force back all the Protestant States into the Church of Rome; to break down the German princes, both Catholic and Protestant, and concentrate all power into his own hand; to re-incorporate Denmark, Holland, and Italy, and thus to extend the Empire to its old limits. This is the plan which Charles V. had attempted in vain; and this is the plan which the new Emperor, inspired by his terrible Jesuitical advisers, was now determined to revive and carry through.

Ferdinand II., 1619-1637.

Fearing to lose Bohemia altogether, Ferdinand, at first, tried conciliatory measures; but the Bohemians knew their man, and answered his overtures only by deposing him from their throne, and by choosing the Elector Palatine, Frederic V., King of Bohemia. Frederic was son-in-law of James I., King of England, and one of the principal leaders of the Protestant union. Ferdinand now appointed Duke Maximilian of Bavaria his general-in-chief. The same was

First Period. War of Bohemia, 1618-1620.

the head of the Catholic League; and among the military men in his service was Count Tilly, notorious for his bigotry, courage, and merciless decision of character. Ferdinand promised wealth and honors, principalities and electorates, to the princes who would join him in his struggle.

Battle of the White Mountain. Nov. 7, 1620.

At the White Mountain, near Prague, Tilly completely defeated the Protestant army. The fortified town could nevertheless have held out easily, and would have soon received ample re-inforcements; but King Frederic fled for his life to Holland. Ferdinand, by his own authority, placed him and all his supporters under the ban. Prague surrendered without conditions. Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia did likewise. Tilly, with seven thousand men, principally Spanish troops, occupied the city. Twenty-seven Protestant chiefs were instantly executed; numerous other executions, imprisonments, or banishments, followed. Protestants were continually robbed and murdered. An immense amount of property was confiscated by the Jesuits, who had returned in full force. Protestant churches were handed over to Catholic priests. Ferdinand tore the Royal Letter ("Majestatsbrief") to pieces with his own hand. Thirty thousand families fled from Bohemia. In this first war, which lasted two years, Ferdinand was entirely successful. Bohemia had become Catholic, and Maximilian, as a reward, was appointed Elector Palatine in place of Frederic V.

Second Period. War in the Palatinate, 1621-1624.

The war was now carried into the Palatinate. Elated by his victory, Ferdinand dissolved the Protestant union, and sent Tilly to execute the ban upon Frederic and take possession of his Electorate. The Protestant com-

manders, instead of uniting, went on separate expeditions, and were one after the other beaten by Tilly. The Protestants fled, and their leaders were placed under the ban. Maximilian took formal possession of the Palatinate. Ferdinand, triumphant in this second victory, now betrayed all the savage cruelty of his nature. By sword, halter, and ax, he proceeded to convert the Palatinate heretics. On these occasions, the punishment of quartering alive was often inflicted. The executions and massacres are declared to have been almost without parallel. In these two wars, Ferdinand had not only revenged himself upon the Protestants, but had humbled the Catholics by the despotic exercise of his imperial power, independent of princes and Diets.

Protestantism was now in a fair way to be extinguished, and Ferdinand looked forward to the accomplishment of his design. But his horizon soon began to darken. The throne was becoming too strong for the German princes; the House of Hapsburg was rising too rapidly. The sovereigns and statesmen of Europe were alarmed by the danger of a united Germany and a too powerful Austria. Richelieu, the great minister of Louis XIII., was just coming upon the scene, and beheld with displeasure the aims of Ferdinand. Holland feared the triumphs of Catholicism. King James I., of England, prepared to restore his son-in-law, Frederic V., to the Palatinate, and Christian IV., King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein, a Protestant sovereign, feared lest his religion might be suppressed and his kingdom incorporated into the Catholic German Empire. He therefore formed an alliance with England and Holland, declared war against the Empire, and marched to the help of the Protestant

Third Period. Danish War. 1624-1630.

princes, the Dukes of Brunswick, Mansfeld, etc. Here the Protestant princes committed the same error which John Frederic and Philip of Hesse had committed in the Smalkaldic war: instead of uniting around one center in pursuance of one plan, they divided their forces, and were beaten in detail. It may be here said, in passing, that the Protestants, with regard to the Roman Church, have committed, and are still committing, the same error; they still keep divided, and even combating each other.

Wallenstein.

A new figure appeared on the stage. The Duke of Bavaria was becoming too strong for Ferdinand. The Catholic League had too much to say upon public affairs. An officer who had fought at the battle of the White Mountain, distinguished himself in war against the Turks, who had already been created Duke of Friedland (a Duchy of Bohemia), and made immensely rich by gifts from the Emperor and by skillful purchases of confiscated Protestant property: this man, Wallenstein, had watched the increasing embarrassments of Ferdinand, and saw in them an opening for himself to still greater power and glory. He was devoted to astrology, and the heavenly bodies encouraged his design. He now stepped forward and offered Ferdinand to raise and maintain an army at his own expense, if the Emperor would bestow upon him its exclusive and absolute command. Ferdinand, threatened with a new war, acquiesced, and made the bold adventurer a prince. The bargain between these two men was a dreadful one. By maintaining the army at his own cost, Wallenstein did not mean paying them out of his own income, or even letting them pay themselves exclusively out of the enemy; he meant that his lawless band should live upon

their own countrymen, as well as upon the enemy. In fact, he asked, and Ferdinand granted, power to plunder, murder, and commit outrages alike upon friend and foe. It was agreed that the army should not be under fifty thousand men; that is, strong enough to maintain itself against the law and against the German people. Wallenstein's recruiting officers accordingly went forth to the sound of trumpets, and he was soon at the head of a powerful army, adventurers, soldiers of fortune, desperadoes; in plain English, brigands. Under an appearance of discipline and grandeur, his sharp-shooters, his "Jägers," arquebusiers, cuirassiers, Croatians, Walloons, and Lombards were a terror to foreigners, and still more to Germans.

We pass at once to the result of the Danish War. In five years, Wallenstein and Tilly, who, be it said, hated each other, had brought it to a triumphant close. They had beaten the Protestant princes, Mansfeld and Brunswick, both of whom were now dead. Tilly had cut to pieces the army of the King of Denmark, who barely escaped with his life. Wallenstein had broken into the Duchies of Mecklenburg, and driven the Dukes out of their possessions, which, upon his demand, the Emperor immediately bestowed upon him. The two Dukes were then declared under the ban. Wallenstein took possession of Pomerania, and the two Imperial generals, without opposition, marched into Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, occupying all Denmark, except the islands. The Danish King sued for peace, and obtained better terms than he expected. His territories were returned to him on condition that he would take no further part in the war. The moderation of Ferdinand was not the result of mercy, but fear. Sweden, and even France, were preparing to interfere.

Wallenstein's campaign had been so brilliant, that the infatuated gambler began to indulge in the most flattering visions. The stars encouraged him in his new hopes. He formed a plan to gain possession of the Baltic, transform it into an Austrian lake, build an immense fleet, and thus open for himself a still wider field of power. To accomplish this, it was necessary to get possession of the towns on the Baltic coast. He, accordingly, besieged Stralsund, a free Imperial Hanse-town, strongly fortified.

Stralsund, 1628.

It represented at once the Hanseatic League, liberty of conscience, and Protestantism. Its defense was rendered easier by its position on the coast and its facilities for obtaining supplies. The furious Wallenstein stormed, and stormed in vain, swearing he would "take the place, though it were chained to the gates of heaven"! But after ten weeks he abandoned the siege. The Emperor was equally disappointed and enraged at this event; it was the only instance in which his power had been successfully and scornfully defied; it humiliated the Catholic party, and encouraged the Protestants.

The campaign had been, however, so successful, in other respects, that Ferdinand thought himself strong enough to grasp one of the grand objects of the war. He issued, what he called, the "Restitution Edict," confiscating all the Protestant property obtained from the Roman Catholics since the Treaty of Passau. The edict transferred an immense amount, held for nearly a century; it violated the Treaty of Augsburg, which had guaranteed that property; and it attempted to annihilate a religion which had taken too deep a root to be eradicated. It would have created a war in time of peace, and it was one of the principal causes why the war was so prolonged. Immediately after

Restitution Edict, 1629.

its proclamation, Ferdinand proceeded to its execution with his characteristic cruelty. It was a stupid thing to do; for, notwithstanding the success of the three previous wars, he was surrounded by increasing difficulties in his own party, and Sweden was preparing to take part against him. Magdeburg protested, and refused to submit to the edict. The town was proclaimed under the ban, and an army sent to execute the act of outlawry. The city closed her gates, and was regularly besieged.

Diet of Regensburg. Dismissal of Wallenstein.

The war had now raged for twelve years. The country wanted peace. A Diet was convoked in Regensburg. Two of the subjects discussed were the savage way in which the war had been carried on, and the measures required to obtain peace. Propositions of peace were voted down by the Catholic Bishops. They would consent to no peace until they had received back their Church property, as stipulated by the Edict of Restitution. From this they went on to consider the course adopted by Wallenstein. Duke Maximilian declared that human nature was outraged by the ferocity with which that general and others were carrying on the war. The name of Pappenheim had become a by-word for robbery and murder.* Tilly massacred without mercy or reason, and Wallenstein oppressed, plundered, murdered, and permitted his licentious dragoons to follow his example. By his extortions, he had almost entirely exhausted the regions through which he had passed, and added millions to his immense private fortune. Germany had become an arena for combats more inhuman and useless than those of wild beasts. Maximilian then demanded the removal of Wallenstein.

* A phrase constantly on the lips of Germans: "*I know my Pappenheimers*," still perpetuates the name of this merciless soldier.

Ferdinand, afraid of Wallenstein, afraid of the Holy League, afraid that the princes might reject his son as King of Rome, consented. Wallenstein was immediately dismissed, and his army partly disbanded. Some of his officers resigned their commissions, and left the Emperor's service. Tilly, Wallenstein's rival, was now appointed commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces under Maximilian. It was feared that Wallenstein, at the head of his remaining troops, might resist. He did nothing of the sort. He addressed a respectful communication to the Emperor, thanking him for the confidence already reposed in him, and retired to his Duchy in Bohemia, with the calmness and dignity of conscious virtue. Cincinnatus went back to his plow.

The war which had successively raged in Bohemia, in the Palatinate, and in Denmark, was now kindled in Sweden.

Fourth Period. The Swedish War. Gustavus Adolphus, 1630-1635.

Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, came to the rescue of the German Protestants. His chief motive was to defend Evangelical truth. He was influenced, however, by other considerations. The commerce of Sweden, if not her independence, was threatened. He feared to see the Baltic in the hands of the Jesuits, and Protestantism endangered in Sweden. He was not insensible to the possibility of obtaining territory on the North coast of Germany. In a former war between Sweden, on one side, and Poland and Russia on the other, Ferdinand had taken part against Gustavus, and declared him under the ban. Perhaps he did not undervalue the opportunity to wipe out this affront; his participation might raise Sweden to a higher rank among nations; nay more, it might place the Imperial crown of Germany upon his

head. He landed (1630) at the mouth of the Oder, with sixteen thousand men, and soon obtained possession of a large part of North Germany. Eighty fortresses were successively taken, and Frankfort-on-the-Oder carried by assault.

Tilly had taken a town occupied by Swedes, who had surrendered on the condition that their lives should be spared. Tilly violated the condition, and slew two thousand prisoners. On the capture of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Gustavus butchered two thousand Imperialist prisoners. Such is war. Gustavus perpetrated this crime (for such it was) as a warning to the Imperialists not to repeat such atrocities. How Tilly replied to the warning, we shall presently see.

Both France and England assisted Gustavus with money. At that time James I. was King of England. Ferdinand, who had contemptuously called Gustavus a "Snow-King, who would melt away in the sunshine," soon discovered that his new adversary could not so easily be disposed of, and sent conciliatory propositions, which were sternly rejected. Magdeburg had successively defied Wallenstein, Pappenheim, and Tilly. Gustavus now promised to relieve her.

The arrival of Gustavus was a great event. The different parties were at a loss how to interpret it. The Protestant princes whom he came to save, feared lest he might seize their territory. The Duke of Bavaria and the Catholic League saw an opportunity to check the Emperor. Wallenstein, from his temporary retreat, watched with secret joy the ever-strengthening current by which he hoped to be borne back again to power. Magdeburg, counting upon Gustavus, still held out, but was in her last extremity. Gustavus sent a distinguished

officer, Falkenberg, to take the command, who passed through Tilly's camp in disguise, and found means to enter the city. Gustavus made great exertions to follow him with his army; but insurmountable difficulties blocked his way, and the promised relief never reached the devoted city. In the meantime, Tilly closely pressed the besieged, and finally succeeded in occupying every outwork.

Sack of Magdeburg, May 10, 1631.

Magdeburg was an ancient privileged town, and a strong fortress. She had, a hundred years previously, become an object of bitter hatred. The Catholic party had not forgotten how successfully she then braved their fury; the *interim* and *exterim;* Maurice's siege and proclamation; the flight over the Brenner Pass. Wallenstein's power had failed against her walls; and now, counting on the Swedish King, she was daringly confronting the whole available military force of the vindictive Emperor, led by the most merciless of his ruffians, Tilly and Pappenheim. The furious Imperialists, fearing at each moment the arrival of Gustavus, at last concentrated all their forces in a desperate assault. The unfortunate city was taken, and sacked without mercy. Freed from all restraint, human and divine; inspired by long-cherished revenge and the beastliest passions; intoxicated by a sense of absolute liberty, and by the devilish sorcery of flowing blood, the soldiery perpetrated horrors, of which no description can give any adequate idea. For three days and nights, butchering, plundering, committing nameless outrages, sparing neither age nor sex, they reveled in such cruelty and licentiousness as would be all but incredible even in Turks and Mongols. The Croatian troops, under Isolani, amused themselves by

pitching children into the flames, and Pappenheim's Walloons speared infants on their mother's breast. One miscreant boasted of having stuck twenty babes upon his pike. The streets were, at last, encumbered with the corpses of thirty thousand victims. All the men, without exception, who could be found in the city had been massacred. Fifty-three women were beheaded at one time, while kneeling in a church at prayer. A widespread conflagration, simultaneously kindled at various points, and favored by a high wind, wrapped the town in flames, and crowds of women, pursued by the soldiery, unable to reach the Elbe, plunged into the fire. During this scene, Tilly remained in his tent outside the gates. Some of his officers ventured to advise him to put an end to the sack. His reply was: "*Come to me again in an hour; I will then consider. The soldier must get something for his toil and dangers.*"* Thus was executed the ban of the "Holy Roman Empire" upon a German city, for having defended the Gospel. Is it a wonder that so many, mistaking the Roman Church for the true Church of Christ, should leap to the conclusion that Christianity is a delusion, and Divine Revelation an idle tale! With the exception of the cathedral, a cloister, and a few houses and fishermen's huts, the town became a heap of ruins and ashes. On the fourth day, after a way had been cleared through piles of corpses and smoking embers, and after "the poor soldiers," thanks to the solicitude of their compassionate general, had received "something for their toil and dangers," Tilly rode into the town, forbade further plunder, and distributed bread to the remnants of the starving, shuddering population, who crept, at last, out of their hiding-places. The

* Geschichte der Reformation, von Jaeckel. Leipsic, 1847.

victors then entered the cathedral, and ordered a *Te Deum laudamus* (We praise Thee, O God!) to be sung. Falkenberg had been slain. Upon his house was placed an inscription: "*Remember May 10, 1631.*" These words have now been inscribed, also, on the tablet of history. There is yet another tablet, on which, perhaps, may still be read by the perpetrators of this deed: "*Remember May 10, 1631.*"—Tilly wrote to the Emperor, in fiendish glee: "*Not since Troy and Jerusalem has there been such a victory!*"

Tilly.

Tilly was born in Brabant in 1559, had been educated in a College of Jesuits, and thoroughly imbued with their nefarious principles. He had distinguished himself in the wars with the Turks, and in the Netherlands under the Duke of Alba, whom he had chosen as his model. His private life was severely moral; his faith blindly fanatical, but sincere. He could commit a town to sack; but if for a single day he accidentally omitted hearing two masses, his conscience was stung with remorse, and he could not sleep at night. He exercised perfect self-control in matters where self-control was almost unknown to his contemporaries; yet so strangely was his religion mingled with devilish Jesuitism, that he encouraged his soldiers to commit, on the enemy's territory, all the crimes dictated by their beastly passions. Catholics called him the "German Joshua"; Gustavus spoke of him as "that old devil Tilly." He is described, after the sack of Magdeburg, as a tall, haggard old man, with broad wrinkled forehead, large bright eyes, pale hollow cheeks, long chin and nose, and huge stiff mustache, looking gloomily down upon the dead bodies which his men were casting into the Elbe. He was then more than seventy. Even in that

age of monstrous deeds, the sack of Magdeburg blighted the old man's name; and when both he and Pappenheim were shortly afterward called to their account, the world breathed more freely. One or two modern critics have endeavored to relieve Tilly from the odium of the Magdeburg massacre. One declares that he did all in his power to restrain excesses; another, that before his death he was tormented by remorse; the majority, however, unite in laying unmitigated blame upon him, and the ultra Catholic party, with the Jesuits. According to the tenets of the latter, it was right to punish offenses, sweet to avenge wrongs, and necessary to make an example.

Why did not Gustavus come?

Why did not Gustavus come to the rescue of Magdeburg, as he had promised? The fault was with two Protestant princes: the Elector John George of Saxony, and George William, Elector of Brandenburg, father of the Great Elector. The army of Gustavus could reach Magdeburg only by crossing the territories of these two princes, who refused permission. George William, of Brandenburg, a weak character, led by his minister, Schwarzenberg, a creature of Austria, refused, probably, from fear of the Emperor; and John George, of Saxony, from a hatred of the free towns, shared by most of the Princes, both Protestant and Catholic. John George detained Gustavus with negotiations purposely protracted, till the destruction of Magdeburg had been accomplished. What a glimpse into the Empire! Neither of these princes, however, anticipated that the capture of Magdeburg would be disgraced by such a catastrophe. Indeed, John George of Saxony, immediately after the sack, joined Gustavus Adolphus.

After the destruction of Magdeburg, Tilly anticipated

the pleasure of crossing swords with Gustavus. At Breitenfeld, Swedes and Imperialists for the first time stood face to face in full force. A murderous battle ended in the entire defeat of the Imperialists. Tilly vainly spent his fury against the troops of the Swedish king. Pappenheim was utterly routed. Seven thousand Imperialists lay dead upon the field. The sack of Magdeburg had inspired such a horror of Tilly, that after the battle, the peasantry murdered every flying Imperial soldier they could overtake. The power of Ferdinand was broken. Gustavus entered Munich in triumph. Maximilian sued in vain for peace. Frederic V., King of Bohemia, re-appeared in the Palatinate. The Queen of Sweden came from Stockholm to share in the triumph of her spouse. On their first meeting, she held him fast in her embrace, exclaiming: "Now, Gustavus the Great, thou art my prisoner!"

Battle of Breitenfeld (Leipsic), Sept. 7, 1631.

After the rout at Breitenfeld, Maximilian and Tilly had united their forces near Augsburg. They were, some months afterward, followed thither by the Swedes and again beaten. Maximilian retreated, but Tilly fell mortally wounded: a cannon-ball had fractured his thigh, and he died in excruciating agony.

Death of Tilly. April 30, 1632.

Gustavus held a brilliant court at Mayence, with his queen and a number of his greatest Swedish dignitaries. He was now the admired of all admirers. Every one was enchanted with his majestic person, attractive countenance, and commanding, yet conciliatory bearing. The contrast was striking between him and the vindictive Ferdinand, the brigand Wallenstein, the ferocious Pappenheim, and the "old devil" Tilly. The Protestant princes were at last

Gustavus at Mayence, 1631-1632.

won by his sincerity and military genius. He began to be generally regarded as the future Protestant German Emperor.

Ferdinand was alarmed, and not without reason. He was now almost without an army, his treasury exhausted, his people tired of the war, his allies distrusting him; a mighty competitor for his throne in possession of North Germany; the great Tilly dead; and even Pope Urban VIII. jealous of the House of Hapsburg. What was to be done? He sent again to Wallenstein. That general was not the man to overlook the vantage-ground on which he now stood; he profited by it to make conditions unheard of till that moment. The Imperial troops were to be placed under his sole command; all territory conquered by him to be at his own disposal; one of the hereditary provinces of Austria to be bestowed upon him; he was to confiscate any property judged necessary for the maintenance of his troops; to possess the unlimited right to appoint officers; and to decide all military questions without interference from the Emperor. Should he desire to communicate with his sovereign, he was to do so directly, without any go-between. He, moreover, required the right to draw subsidies from Spain. If not the Emperor's Emperor, he demanded to become at least a co-Emperor. Ferdinand had no alternative but to sign the stipulations; he did so on the very day when Wallenstein's greatest rival, Tilly, expired.

Wallenstein reappointed.

Wallenstein was now almost at the height of power. He seemed to see realized all the promises which had been unfolded to him in the starry heavens. Mars had beckoned him on to victory, and Jupiter to power; but they had perfidiously concealed the storm which was

gathering for his destruction. So again the trumpets of his recruiting officers resounded through all Germany, rallying once more around him the wild elements of rapine, licentiousness, and murder. In a few months, he stood again at the head of a formidable army, and immediately entered upon his campaign. He conquered Prague, drove the Saxons out of Bohemia, and the Swedes out of Bavaria. The Emperor ventured to propose that the Archduke, afterward Ferdinand III., should nominally be placed at the head of the Imperial forces. Wallenstein replied: "*Serve under Ferdinand? No! I would not serve under God Himself.*"

We pass over events, sieges, and battles, to the moment when Wallenstein, burning, butchering, and devastating the land, that it might not furnish any supplies to the enemy, marched to Leipsic for the purpose of transferring the horrors of war to North Germany. One hundred villages in flames marked his advance. He was followed by Gustavus, who, united with Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, overtook Wallenstein at Lützen, near Leipsic.

The battle began in the morning. The Swedish army knelt in prayer, sung with trumpet accompaniment Luther's hymn: "*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*," and then attacked. The battle raged for many hours. Who can describe the scene! Squadrons charging; cannon thundering; regiments flying; others advancing; swords ringing; the ground shaking; the air darkened with volumes of heavy smoke and fog. From the mass of combatants mingling together in the deadly struggle, the horse of Gustavus was seen galloping back without his rider. Maddened by the sight, the Swedes, led by Duke

Battle of Lützen. Death of Gustavus, Nov. 6, 1632.

Bernard of Weimar, charged for the third time, and broke the lines of Pappenheim and Wallenstein. Wallenstein himself, rode through the hottest of the fight, his mantle pierced by bullets, sternly checking the flight of his troops, and threatening the direst punishment; all in vain. The Imperialists were utterly and shamefully routed. *But Gustavus had fallen.* His corpse was found on the field and borne back in sad triumph by his soldiers.

The circumstances of the King's death are variously related, but seem to be substantially as follows: The fog and smoke, and his near-sightedness, prevented him from seeing that he was riding into the very midst of the enemy's cuirassiers. Here a shot broke his arm, and he asked one of his officers to lead him from the field. On turning, he received a shot in his back, while another shot pierced his horse, which fled in wild terror. The King, exhausted through loss of blood, became insensible, and reeled from his saddle; but his foot being still in the stirrup, he was dragged some distance. He was now seized by the enemy, and his name demanded of his page, Lübelfing, a German boy of eighteen. The noble boy refused to tell, upon which one of the Pappenheimers blew his brains out. The King was now stripped and robbed. Recovering himself, he said, calmly: "I am the King of Sweden,"—hoping, perhaps, that his rank would be respected. The cuirassiers, indeed, intended to carry him away alive; but, at that moment, the decisive charge of the Swedes took place under Bernard of Weimar. The Imperialists fled on all sides. Unable to secure the prisoner, a cuirassier drew his pistol, and shot him dead. The report that the King had been wounded by one of his own officers is unfounded.

Pappenheim died upon the same field. When he fell, his troops gave up the battle and fled. In his last moments, he sent a message to Wallenstein: "I die with joy, because Gustavus, the enemy of my faith, has fallen with me." Wallenstein's rage was unbounded at this defeat. All his officers who fled first from the field were beheaded, at his command.

Death of Pappenheim.

Gustavus Adolphus has justly won the title of "Great." He was noble without hypocrisy, brave without insolence, modest in success, open and sincere in all his dealings. He contended, chiefly, for the establishment of Protestantism. He was classically educated, a gentleman, a Christian, and the first soldier of his century. Weber calls him "the purest character of that deeply-agitated time." His intervention saved Germany, if not Europe, from the Jesuits. The massacre of two thousand prisoners at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in retaliation of the savage acts of Tilly, is a stain upon his name. In general, he pursued noble aims, and only by noble means. "The people of Germany," says Ranke, "would gladly have welcomed him as their Emperor."

Thoughts on Gustavus Adolphus.

After the death of Gustavus, his prime minister, Oxenstiern, was invested with full power by the Swedish Parliament during the minority of Gustavus' daughter. He was, moreover, chosen chief of the League of the Protestant princes against Austria. But with Gustavus, Sweden and the Protestants lost the genius and experience of the soldier, the large wisdom of the statesman, and the sincere honesty of the Christian. Oxenstiern and the Swedish aristocracy, after the death of Gustavus, con-

Oxenstiern, 1632-1664.

tinued the war with new fury, without humanity, or religion, merely to secure territory and obtain indemnification. The Swedish troops, in the beginning of the war, so distinguished by their discipline and good conduct, at last sunk to a level with the hireling cut-throats of the opposing party. The country was more and more desolate and demoralized; the armies consisted of lawless banditti, the peasants were helpless slaves. Princes and other lords often amassed large fortunes out of the anarchy, and, like the Bishops with their Edict of Restitution, urged on the war as a pecuniary speculation. The Empire sunk lower and lower.

Assassination of Wallenstein, Feb. 25, 1634.

Notwithstanding his defeat at Lutzen, Wallenstein found no difficulty in once more recruiting his army to its full number. Dark reports began to be whispered about him. He neglected to carry out the Edict of Restitution; he appointed Protestants as high officers in his army. Proofs were discovered of secret negotiations with Oxenstiern. He coquetted with the Protestants. Count Schlick, the Austrian Minister of War at Vienna, openly expressed his opinion that Wallenstein was playing a treacherous game. It was known that the leading Protestants were in private intercourse with him. Families banished from Bohemia had sent a delegate to him. He had even received a diplomatic agent from Richelieu. Other proofs of treason came to light. He was believed to be aiming first at the crown of Bohemia; and who can say whether the stars had not suggested to him a higher throne? An alliance with the Protestants might justify such a hope. The eyes of all Germany were anxiously fixed upon the audacious adventurer. Ferdinand had long watched him; but, surrounded by his faithful officers and

trusted friends, Piccolomini, Gallas, Aldringer, Colonel Walter, Butler, Isolani, Maraclas, Coloredo, Illo, Terzky, Kinsky, Neumann, and his devoted army, Wallenstein believed he could defy the Emperor and all other enemies. These officers, about thirty in number, had presented to him a written oath, that they would be faithful to him under all contingencies. While the stars were, no doubt, telling him that Ferdinand would never dare to risk a rupture, an Imperial proclamation broke his astrologic dreams. It declared that Wallenstein had been found guilty of treasonable conspiracy, dismissed him from the service, and enjoined upon all his officers to refuse him obedience. Wallenstein immediately repaired to the strong fortress of Eger, in Bohemia, followed by a part of his army. There he hoped to maintain himself till he could draw re-inforcements from the Swedes, from Duke Bernard of Weimar, or other Protestant princes. His hope appeared justified by the secret negotiations with France, which he had also brought to a favorable termination. But before re-inforcements could arrive, the Emperor had accomplished his purpose. With the exception of four officers,—namely, Terzky, Kinsky, Illo, and Neumann,—all the thirty who had presented him with the written oath that, in case of need, they would sacrifice their estates, and shed their hearts' blood in his defense, had been bribed by the Emperor to deliver him up, "dead or alive." It was necessary for these conspirators to act without delay. An entertainment was proposed, which lasted far into the night. While the officers sat side by side, the unsuspecting victims, with those who had become their betrayers, the flow of social mirth was suddenly interrupted. Ruffians burst into the hall, by whose assistance the friends of Wallenstein were murdered;

among them, Terzky, Kinsky, Illo, and Neumann. Wallenstein had retired to rest; but the shouts and shrieks aroused him. The truth, no doubt, flashed upon him. He rose, dressed himself, and waited. Suddenly the tramp of feet was heard, the door of the room crashed open, and in burst Devereux, at the head of thirty armed ruffians. "*Are you the villain who would betray our Emperor?*" Wallenstein, like Cæsar, accepted the position, and opening his arms wide, received the mortal wound.

Some think Ferdinand did not order, or desire, this assassination. When he received information of Wallenstein's death, he shed tears and commanded masses for his soul. He had issued the order, however, to arrest him, "*dead or alive*"; and the gratitude with which he rewarded Wallenstein's assassins was equaled only by the fury with which he pursued his friends.

Wallenstein's vast property was confiscated and divided among his betrayers, who all received offices, honors, and money. The Emperor took a portion (Sagan) for himself. Other faithful officers, who had escaped being massacred at the midnight banquet, were mercilessly persecuted, twenty-four at one time being beheaded in Pilsen.

Thoughts on Wallenstein.

Wallenstein was born of a noble family, and had been brought up in the Evangelical religion. He had soon found it convenient to join the Catholic Church, and, for a time, studied in a Jesuit College at Olmütz. He had traveled, and personally appeared at the courts of England, France, Spain, Holland, and Italy. In the latter country, he became a thorough convert to astrology, in which his faith went on increasing till his life was ended by Devereux's dagger. He had early amassed an enormous fortune, and won

the confidence of the Emperor by his campaigns against the Turks. He was tall and majestic, with a commanding air. He seldom smiled or spoke. His soldiers, even the roughest, were hushed to silence, and stood still when he passed along the street; but there was something of benevolence in him, particularly toward the common soldiers. He cared for their slightest wants, and pardoned all their faults, with two exceptions: disobedience or cowardice brought instant death. "*Hang the beast!*" was his stern command. No appeal; no delay. He was without bigotry, because he was without religion. He cared as little for the Pope as for the Emperor. He had no God but himself. He plundered friend and foe with equal relentlessness. When his devastations and extortions had exhausted one province, he used to lead his army into another which had not yet been cursed by their presence. His soldiers laughed at the idea of being Protestants, Catholics, Christians, Germans, or foreigners; they were all "*Wallensteiners*,"—in comparison with this, all else dwindled to nothing. He was marked by a strange peculiarity: he could not bear any one to look him steadily in the eye. His costume was striking and theatrical,—the leathern coat of a dragoon, with scarlet mantle and trousers, and a broad-rimmed hat with blood-red feather.

The fall of Wallenstein was a blow to the Protestants. The Emperor appointed his son, Ferdinand, commander-in-chief, with Gallas under him. The army was increased by large re-inforcements from Spain. Ferdinand now renewed the war, perpetrated horrible cruelties, stormed and burned Landshut, where the powder-magazine was blown up. Forty thousand Imperialists met the Protestant troops, under Bernard of Weimar, at Nördlingen (Bavaria). A murder-

Battle of Nördlingen, Sept. 6, 1634.

ous battle resulted in the rout of the Protestants. Bernard fled into France, leaving every thing. Ferdinand wreaked frightful vengeance upon the defenseless country. Villages were burned, the flying inhabitants butchered, often tortured. The Jesuits took possession of churches and universities. Robbery and murder, followed by famine and pestilence, openly stalked through the land.

Fifth and last Period. French-Swedish War, 1635-1648.

Richelieu, in order to weaken the Hapsburgs, and make the Rhine the frontier of France, concluded an alliance with Sweden, and openly took part in the war.

Death of Ferdinand II., Feb. 15, 1637.

Ferdinand III., Emperor.

At this moment, Ferdinand II. died. His last act sheds a light upon the intrigues immediately around him. He procured the election of his son as Roman King. Duke Maximilian was intriguing for the same prize, supported by Richelieu and Pope Urban VIII., who were furious at being outwitted by the Emperor. Ferdinand, in his family life and social circle, was benevolent and courteous. This seems to be all the good that can be said of him. Jealous, vindictive, bigoted, cruel, treacherous, he disregarded all promises, obligations, laws, and treaties, every sense of right, and every instinct of humanity. The war was kindled and prolonged by him and the Jesuits. The crimes he committed, the misery he caused, the opportunities he neglected, the demoralization, ruin, and despair, bequeathed as a legacy to his country, can hardly be measured. Had Philip II. really sat on the German throne, he could scarcely have proved a greater malediction. Ferdinand alienated both Catholics and Protestants. By his own single authority, without assembling a Diet, he launched

the ban against whom he pleased. He violated the Golden Bull, by appointing an Elector. He disposed of conquered territories with the arbitrariness of a military dictator. The ruffians to whom he committed the conduct of the war excited, as we have seen, the displeasure of many of his own party; and his repeated executions and massacres mark him as a colossal villain.

Continuation of the Fifth Period to the End of the War.

During the eleven remaining years before the Treaty of Westphalia, the war was carried on by Sweden and France. Ferdinand III. would gladly have made peace; but Germany had sunk to such a depth of misery and weakness that she had no longer the power,—she had become an almost defenseless prey in the hands of France and Sweden. Peace was delayed by their exorbitant demands. The Edict of Restitution continued to be an obstacle, as neither party would abandon its claims. Some Germans, moreover, who were amassing fortunes, desired the war to continue. So, hostilities went on for eleven years. It would be useless to enumerate the battles and massacres,—the increasing horrors,—the explosions of powder-magazines,—the storming of cities,—the burning of towns and villages,—the famine, pestilence, plunder, and godless demoralization. The war, during these years, was carried on by the Swedish Generals Banner, Torstenson, and Königsmark; by the Imperialist Generals Piccolomini and Gallas; and on the French side, first, by the generals of Louis XIII. and Richelieu, then under Mazarin, the minister of Louis XIV., by the Generals Turenne, Condé, etc.

In the autumn of 1648, Germany was a ruin. At the beginning of the reign of Ferdinand II., Bohemia had three million inhabitants Peace and prosperity were

shedding their blessings upon the country. Catholic and Protestant lived together in friendly intercourse. The population was now reduced to eight hundred thousand, and the land has never since recovered its former prosperity. In Würtemberg, out of five hundred thousand, only forty-eight thousand remained. Germany had lost ten million inhabitants. The soil was uncultivated; wide tracts were turned into blasted solitudes, marked by heaps of burned and broken rubbish, where towns and villages had stood. Everywhere could be seen the deadly marks of famine, pestilence, and fire. Well had Jesus sorrowfully prophesied: "*I am come to bring war on the earth;—I come not to bring peace, but a sword.*" Pestilence had, in some places, proceeded from heaps of putrid bodies. The population was starving, without law, police, protection, or mercy. In the absence of authority, robbers and murderers infested the whole land, and took the last coin, the last garment, the last piece of bread from the starving inhabitants. This was not all. Helpless families were tortured to discover where they had hidden their silver and gold.* Members of the same family sometimes fought and killed each other for a piece of bread. Mothers devoured their babes. A modern historian† says: "The heart-rending misery reached its lowest depth after the Battle of Nördlingen, and extended over the whole of Germany. The armed soldier inflicted, at pleasure, every species of barbarity upon helpless citizens, their wives, and children. It was proved that the Imperialists roasted their victims alive, tore their eyes out, and

Germany at the end of the War.

* The German newspapers of our day often report discoveries of gold and silver coins buried during this war.

† Hauser, Geschichte des Zeitalters der Reformation.

pitched the wretched beings into red-hot ovens. The Swedes, after the death of Gustavus, rivaled their enemies in atrocities. They formed a drink of the most disgusting substances imaginable, and, in beastly sport, poured it down their prisoners' throats. For years afterward, the robber and the wolf used the deserted ruins of towns and villages as places of concealment."*

Where was the Christian Church, and what was it doing during this period? It preserved its perfect faith, and sought consolation and strength in the Gospel. Many of the imperishable German chorals date from this period. When misery was at its worst, the news broke over the land that peace was concluded. A generation had grown up who knew not what the word meant.

Treaty of Westphalia, 1648.

The peace negotiations had been carried on for four years. While diplomates were negotiating, armies were fighting, soldiers dying, the people starving. The demands of the parties, like stocks on the Exchange, rose and fell according to the daily news from the battle-field. The peace would have been concluded earlier but for the exorbitant demands of France and Sweden.

Among the parties to the treaty were France, Sweden, the Emperor, different German States and princes, Frederic William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, Denmark, Venice, Spain, Switzerland, England, and the Netherlands.

By the treaty:

France received part of Alsace, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had already been delivered to her by Maurice

* How can we explain the fact that some modern commentators (for instance a lecturer, in 1860, in the Evangelian Association of Berlin) declare the prophecy of the millennium already fulfilled in the thousand years of the Holy Roman Empire, from Charlemagne to Francis II.!

(1552) in his *coup de main* against Charles V., but which were now confirmed to her, not to be held as a fief of the Empire, but in her own sovereign right, with several Imperial cities and other territories.

Sweden received all Western Pomerania, with Rügen and Stettin, etc., etc., as fiefs of the Empire, and in addition, an indemnity of five million thalers. She had demanded, but in vain, the whole of Pomerania.

Brandenburg. The Elector had a legal right to all Pomerania. The western part had been assigned to Sweden. But the Elector was too important a prince to be overlooked; as an indemnity for Western Pomerania, he therefore received Halberstadt, Minden, Kamin, and the Duchy of Magdeburg.

Bavaria retained the Upper Palatinate with the dignity of Elector. The Lower Palatinate was given to the son of Frederic V., whose election as King of Bohemia, thirty years before, had been one of the first events of the war; with it he received the Eighth Electorate, created by Ferdinand.

Switzerland was finally recognized as independent of the Empire.

Austria refused to recognize or restore the rights of the Protestants, which had been suppressed in the beginning of the war in Austria and Bohemia.

The Netherlands were recognized as independent of the Empire, and received Luxemburg and Limburg.

Denmark received Holstein. For the territories thus acquired by Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark, those powers became members of the Diet of the Empire.

Protestants. The attempts of the Roman Church and the Jesuits to recover the Protestant countries had at last failed. All the privileges conferred upon the Prot-

estants by the Treaties of Passau and Augsburg, were now confirmed and increased. The Catholic lands and other property in their possession, were guaranteed to them. The Edict of Restitution was canceled. All the wars, victories, intrigues, massacres, murders of Charles V. and Ferdinand II., met with their just judgment. The great Supreme Court of the Empire was thenceforth to consist of Catholics and Protestants, in equal numbers. Rome and the Empire were thus separated. The treaty did not break the union which Leo III. and Charlemagne had concluded; but it legalized the break which had been made by Luther and other defenders of the Gospel.

Liberty of conscience was given to Europe, at least to Protestant Europe.

The Empire and Princes. The throne was almost neutralized, the most important privileges being transferred to the Diet, which was thenceforth, like the Supreme Court, composed partly of Protestants. The Emperor had always possessed the sole right to convoke the Diet wherever he pleased; after the treaty, it generally assembled at Regensburg. The great vassals of the crown thus became more strong and independent. The attempt of Charles V. and Ferdinand II. to raise up the old throne of the Cæsars was thus a failure. Instead of strengthening the throne, they knocked away its chief foundations. After the Treaty of Westphalia, the Empire stood like a stately tree whose death-warrant has been signed by the forester; whose trunk has been already sawed through, and which, while apparently enjoying all the security of life, waits only the approaching moment of its fall.

The House of Hapsburg underwent another important change: its supremacy was at an end, and the equilibrium

of Europe (a very illusory phrase) guaranteed. Already the Hapsburg Emperors of Germany began to foresee the necessity of changing their title to that of Emperors of Austria.

The Treaty of Westphalia had been dictated by France and Sweden; both wished to weaken Germany, and obtained the treacherous right to intervene in cases where they had reason to believe that Germany had failed to comply with the stipulations of the treaty. In accordance with this right, they subsequently seized every opportunity to interfere. It was quite in the course of events that Louis XIV. should treat Germany as a vassal province, and that Napoleon I. should bring the Empire to a close; for the great German nation, in the center of Europe, has always been an object of jealousy, particularly to France.

The House of Hapsburg had lost in power. At the end of the war, there seems to have existed, not only among German princes, but also among European powers, a certain instinct that the young Elector of Brandenburg might secure the vacated place. During the eight years of his reign already passed, his character and administration had conquered the respect and aroused the fear of the parties to the Treaty.

The Pope protests.

The Pope (Innocent X.) protested against the Treaty of Westphalia, because it admitted the possibility that heretics could possess rights. This protest appears at first sight an insignificant event. It exercised no visible influence, and as years rolled on, it seemed to be forgotten. It has, however, great historical importance. It was an official declaration of the Roman Church that, notwithstanding the Treaty of Augsburg, she had never abandoned, and

never intended to abandon, the claim put forth by Gregory VII., Innocent III., Bonifacius VIII., etc., to be the supreme and exclusive source of ecclesiastical and political authority upon the earth. This claim continues even now to be maintained. It has been asserted more distinctly than ever by the Ecumenical Council of Rome (1869–1870), which adopted the dogma of infallibility. In this connection, a distinguished German writer says: "Never has the Roman Church in Germany been so united, so Roman, so ultramontane, and so conscious of her strength, as at this moment."*

The Germans consider this war the most frightful on record. A full description has probably never been given. Before the war, the Empire held her high place among the nations, and retained essentially her ancient limits. Some of the glory of Charlemagne, the Henrys, and the Ottos still lingered on her domes and towers. But after the war, she stood like the old ruin on the height of Heidelberg, solitary, abandoned, and crumbling to pieces. Large portions of her territory had been torn away. The Rhine was no longer a German river. The left bank had been grasped by her greatest foe. She had lost provinces, fortresses, sea-coast, and her western frontier was exposed to invasion. The great German people were delivered up to their enemies, and we shall now see how they were insulted, robbed, and trampled on, till they broke their chains upon the battle-field. The world is now on the eve of another great European war from the ambition of Russia and France; and many a heart is failing for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth.

* Die moderner Weltanschauungen, by Dr. Ernst Luthardt, Leipsic, 1880.

CHAPTER X.

ORIGIN OF PRUSSIA.

PRUSSIA FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE DEATH OF FREDERIC WILLIAM, THE GREAT ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG, 919–1688.

OUR history has now reached a turning-point. We have hitherto regarded events from the German Empire itself; but the tall ship, which has borne us through so many centuries, is now about to sink; we must abandon her, and contemplate the great disaster from a stand-point outside of her,—the Mark of Brandenburg.

Remark.

The Empire fell one hundred and forty years after the Treaty of Westphalia. From that treaty, there were eight Emperors, whose reigns can be hereafter better described, in their connection with France and Prussia. This period was peculiarly important. It presents the dying struggles of the Empire. The chain of political and religious slavery which had so long bound the human mind, was broken by the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War. Intoxicated with new discoveries, new ideas, and with the prospect of liberty, reason went forth seeking what it could find. It wandered in every direction, and is still wandering into the wildest extremes. While the true Church endeavored to revive the Gospel as preached by Paul, the world began to brand that Gospel as an antiquated superstition, contradicted equally by reason, history, and science.

The sketch of the Great Elector exhibits the gradual sinking of the Holy Roman Empire, its corruption and helplessness, and the process of disintegration by which power was passing from the Hapsburgs to the Hohenzollerns. The German tribes and princes, which Charlemagne had united, are separating. The bands of Orion are being loosened. The house of Austria and that of Brandenburg gradually disengage themselves from the Empire and from each other, and the struggle commences between those two powerful families, terminated nearly three centuries subsequently upon the field of Königgrätz.

Mark of Brandenburg. Its origin, 919.

At an early period, the German Emperors erected on their frontiers different districts into military governments, called marches or *Marks*, an old German word, meaning *frontier*. These Marks were territories wrested from various enemies surrounding the Empire (among whom, the Vends), and bestowed with the title of Margraves, as fiefs upon powerful nobles whose mission was to defend the frontier. The Marks were the bulwarks of the Empire. Brandenburg was one of them. It had been conquered from the Vends (919) by the Emperor Henry I., who took their capital, Brennabor, now Brandenburg. This was the nucleus of the Kingdom of Prussia and of the present German Empire. The Vends, although slowly disappearing, still remain in Prussia and Saxony, between one and two hundred thousand in number, interesting from their manners, language, and picturesque costumes. Two centuries subsequently, Berlin was founded by the Margrave Albert the Bear. Two more centuries bring us to Louis the Roman, so called, because

Berlin, 1134.

Louis the Roman, 1341.

born in Rome. The little territory had now been somewhat enlarged, and, like a coral island, has continually grown larger and larger by deposits from inheritances, marriages, treaties, conquests, etc. At length, the Emperor Charles IV. (Golden Bull, 1356) formally invested Louis, Margrave of Brandenburg, and his successors with the dignity of Elector.

Sigismund, Margrave of Brandenburg, became Emperor in 1410, and, as already related, for important services rendered, particularly with regard to Sigismund's election as Emperor, bestowed the Mark Brandenburg, with the dignity of Elector, on Frederic of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, Prince of Anspach and Beyreuth, etc. This Frederic was the first Hohenzollern in Prussian history. He reigned uprightly and strongly twenty-five years, broke for a time the power of the robber-knights in Brandenburg, took part against the Hussites in the war, but secured for them the favorable terms which they received by the treaty of peace. The Hohenzollern family have retained possession of Brandenburg till our day, nearly five hundred years. The little patch of ground, originally one of the outposts of the Empire, has gradually risen above all the other German States, overthrown the power of the mighty house of Hapsburg in Germany, terminated the subordination of Germany to France, and re-united the German States under one German scepter.

Frederic I., first Hohenzollern in Prussian history, 1415-1440.

A map shows, almost inclosed in the Kingdom of Würtemberg, the small principality of Hohenzollern, now incorporated into the Prussian monarcy. The traveler here visits the ruin of an old castle, built upon the summit of a steep

Whence came the Hohenzollerns?

mountain, called the Zollerberg, — before Charlemagne, the residence of the Counts of Zollern. From this height, the name afterward became Hohenzollern; some unfriendly critics declare on account of the high duties.

Albert Achilles, son of Frederic I., 1470-1486.

A brave and warlike knight, Albert, received the name of Achilles, from his beauty and chivalric deeds. Like other Margraves of Brandenburg, he had been engaged in a war with the Vendish Dukes of Pomerania. At last, he made a treaty of peace, recognizing the right of the Pomeranian dukes over their entire duchy, on the condition that, in the contingency of the extinction of the ducal line, the whole of Pomerania should fall to Brandenburg. This treaty was subsequently guaranteed by the Emperor.

How Brandenburg first acquired the right to Pomerania, 1470-1486.

We pass fifty-nine years to Joachim I. (Nestor). The robber-knights had again re-organized. No public road was safe from plunder and murder. Joachim made war upon them, and in one year hung seventy, of whom forty were members of noble families. Joachim I. was a determined enemy of the Reformation, beheld with fury the firmness of Luther at the Diet of Worms, and was one of those who demanded his arrest, notwithstanding his safe conduct.

Joachim I. (Nestor), 1499-1535.

Joachim II. (Hector), on the occasion of a marriage between their children, concluded a treaty with the Duke of Liegnitz, by which it was agreed that upon the extinction of the Ducal line of Liegnitz, the principalities of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau should fall to Brandenburg. The line was extinguished in 1675, during the

Joachim II. (Hector). Principalities of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, 1535-1571.

reign of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, who consequently claimed the succession (as we shall hereafter see, in vain). We mention this apparently unimportant treaty, because more than two hundred years subsequently, Frederic the Great used it as a pretext for the Silesian wars, which set Europe, not to say the whole world, on fire, and did their full share in finally exploding the Empire. The Lutheran religion was introduced into Brandenburg by the Elector Joachim II. It was this Joachim II. who, in connection with the Duke Maurice of Saxony, acted as mediator between Charles V. and the Smalkaldic League, who persuaded Philip of Hesse to surrender, after the Battle of Mühlberg.

The Reformation introduced into Brandenburg.

A circumstance now occurred which added to the power of Brandenburg, but was, at first, a source of embarrassment. John William, Duke of Cleve-Berg-Julich, owner of immense rich territories on the Rhine, now Rhenish province of Prussia, in 1609, died without issue. John Sigismund, then Elector of Brandenburg, seems to have been the rightful heir; but the succession was disputed by several rivals,—among them, Holland and the Count Palatine, Wolfgang of Neuburg. A part of the lands lay in the Palatinate (Rhenish Bavaria); the principal part in the adjoining province, now known as Rhenish Prussia. A war of succession for nearly fifty years, sometimes threatened to become a religious, and even a European war. The Emperor Rudolph and his successors were alarmed at so great an addition to the power of Brandenburg, which was, moreover, hated by the Catholic party as representing Protestant progress. To keep the Emperor from seizing these territories for himself, the candidates concluded

The Cleve-Berg-Julich succession, 1609-1666.

an amicable arrangement, by which they governed jointly till further decision. In 1637, during the reign of George William, that unfortunate sovereign received provisional possession of some of the lands.

How Brandenburg first acquired a right to the Duchy of Prussia.

The district on the Baltic, now the Prussian province called West and East Prussia, was, at the time of the Crusades (thirteenth century), inhabited by a heathen tribe called Borussi. After the Crusades, the Teutonic knights, then a powerful and corrupt order, made war upon the Borussi, conquered them, and ruled for a while over a wide territory. Their capital was Marienburg, near Danzig, where a stately castle still recalls them to the memory of the traveler. In the fifteenth century, they were involved in a war with Poland, which wrested from them a part of their territory, and allowed them to hold the remainder only as a fief.

Battle of Tannenberg, 1410.

Thus far there is no particular connection between the Duchy of Prussia and the Electorate of Brandenburg, except that the Brandenburgers and the Teutonic knights were German. But in 1511, the real connection began. The Margrave Albert, a grandson of the Elector Albert Achilles, although not himself Elector, was chosen Grand-master of the Teutonic knights. The Reformation was just breaking out. Albert introduced the Lutheran religion, and secularized his land into a hereditary duchy. Poland consented, on the condition that he should hold it as a Polish fief. On the death of Albert (his son, the young Duke of Prussia, being of a weak mind), Joachim Frederic, Elector of Brandenburg, was chosen the young Duke's guardian, and, at the same

Duchy of Prussia secularized by Albert of Brandenburg, Grand-master of the Teutonic Knights, 1525.

time, appointed regent of the Duchy. In 1618, the Duchy was inherited by John Sigismund, the Elector of Brandenburg, and father of George William.

At the commencement of the Thirty Years' War, the dignity of Elector of Brandenburg was held by George William, father of the great Elector. His reign fell entirely within the period of the war. His first step was to call to the head of his ministry an Austrian Jesuit, Count Adam von Schwarzenberg, a spy and a traitor, to whom George William almost completely surrendered the reins of government. The Electorate thus descended into a state of ruin which has been more than once repeated in Prussian history. But the House of Brandenburg, or, as it is more frequently called, Hohenzollern, has always issued from these periods into increased power. Ruin has been the way to prosperity, humiliation to honor, defeat to victory. Through the whole war, the Mark was in a peculiarly dangerous position. A Protestant land, in the hands of the Catholic Austria, it was exposed to hostilities from the near neighbors, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, France, and Holland. Thus tossed by the storms and currents of the terrible war, perhaps neither Barbarossa nor Bismarck could have saved the ship. The contempt entertained for Brandenburg may be seen by the fact that when George William's uncle, the Margrave John George of Jägerndorf in Silesia, on account of his Protestantism, was placed under the ban, by which Jägerndorf legally fell to Brandenburg, the Emperor bestowed it upon the Duke of Troppau, a Catholic prince, 1621. This was one of the numerous violations of German law by which Ferdinand II. made himself enemies even among Catholic princes. George William had three

George William, 1619-1640.

paths before him. He might remain neutral; or he might form an alliance with Sweden; or with the Emperor. He attempted each of these paths in succession. Frightened by the disadvantages of neutrality, he joined Sweden, and afterward abandoned Sweden for the Imperialists. He thus had all parties against him. One can not refrain from the suspicion that Schwarzenberg had the intention to destroy the Mark. After the sack of Magdeburg, for which George William was indirectly responsible (having, as we have seen, from fear of the Emperor, refused Gustavus Adolphus permission to cross the territory), the Mark fell into a state of helpless degradation. Swedish cannon compelled a surrender of the fortresses of Spandau and Custrin. The Mark was crossed and re-crossed by Imperialists and Swedes according to their convenience. Holland seized the disputed Cleve lands and Poland denied the right to the Duchy of Prussia. George William now openly joined the Emperor, and, with Saxony and several other Protestant princes, signed a treaty at Prague, by which the parties allied themselves to carry on the war against Sweden. On this occasion, the Brandenburg army swore obedience to the Emperor Ferdinand II.

Treaty of Prague, 1635.

The very next year, the Swedes defeated the Imperialists at Wittstock, and became masters of the Mark. At this, for Brandenburg, unfortunate moment, Bogislaw XIV., last Duke of Pomerania, died without issue. Nothing could be clearer in this contingency than Brandenburg's equitable and legal claim to the whole of Pomerania (see paragraph, A.D. 1470). That province was, nevertheless, now occupied by the Swedes. George William, strengthened by an Imperialist force, made an unsuccessful at-

Last Duke of Pomerania dies without issue, 1637.

tempt to seize it. The Swedish General Banner marched into the Mark, desolating, burning, and plundering. The Imperialists retreated, also burning and plundering on their way out. To the other horrors was added the plague. The Elector, in despair, abandoned his throne, placed his army under the command of the new Emperor, Ferdinand III., to whom it swore obedience, fled to Königsberg, the farthest extremity of his territory, and there died (1640) of a broken heart, forty-five years old, in the twenty-first year of his reign. He was followed by his son, Frederic William, known as the Great Elector. The new Elector, twenty years of age, born in Berlin, 1620, two years after the commencement of the war, had never known the world in a time of peace. His first impressions were of armies, battles, and hasty flights; now from Imperialists, now from Swedes. His greatest enemy had been the Jesuit Schwarzenberg, who had recognized, even in the boy, that "royalty of nature," that "dauntless temper of mind," under which his own genius was rebuked. He had kept him, therefore, removed from his father's presence, in pecuniary embarrassment, an object of suspicion, and surrounded by spies. These influences were not unfavorable to the young prince. They saved him from the evil influences of the court. Louis XIV., in his youth, was surrounded by persons purposely endeavoring to lead him into immorality; while Frederic William had the advantage of a Christian mother, Elizabeth Charlotte of the Palatinate; and of a Christian teacher, Gerard von Leuchtmar. Part of his youth was passed in old, lonely castles, among silent, solitary forests, studying earnestly, riding, wandering through the woods on foot with a book, or with his own

Frederic William, Great Elector, Dec. 1, 1640-1688.

thoughts, while the great war was roaring at a distance. He was thus much better educated than he would have been with George William and Schwarzenberg. Sheltered from the corruption of that remarkable period, he breathed the pure atmosphere of temperance, virtue, and religion. Thus were laid the foundations of a Christian character, and of one of the most powerful empires of history. At fifteen, his mother sent him to Holland, under the charge of Leuchtmar, where he remained several years, partly at the University of Leyden, partly at the court and camp of the Stadtholder, Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange. Here he met the Stadtholder's daughter, Louisa Henrietta, subsequently his beloved and faithful wife. From this instructive sojourn, he had been recalled by the jealous Schwarzenberg.

State of the Mark.

At the time of his accession, the war was raging more fiercely than ever. The Mark had become a desert. No part of Germany, except the Palatinate, had been so desolated. For fifty miles, the traveler saw not a single village; sometimes not a human being. Towns and villages had been burned; their inhabitants driven away, or slaughtered. Everywhere silence, ruin, solitude. Extensive estates lay uncultivated and unclaimed, the proprietors, with their entire families, having been swept from the earth. Crowds, without homes, sometimes wandered in search of food. The Elector's treasury was empty. He had an army, but demoralized, mutinous, and in the interest of Austria. The State over which he was called to rule extended, on the east from Berlin, about four hundred English miles. One part of it, Pomerania, as well as a considerable part of the Mark Brandenburg, had been seized by the Swedes, and was governed as a Swedish province. By the Treaty

FREDERIC WILLIAM,

"The Great Elector."

of Prague, 1635, George William had joined the alliance against Sweden, and thus bequeathed to his son a war with that power. The young Protestant Elector, by the policy of his father and Schwarzenberg, was thus the ally of the Roman Catholic Emperor against a Protestant prince. For the Duchy of Prussia, he was a vassal of Poland, and Poland extorted from him the most arbitrary conditions before it would restore the Duchy to him, even as a fief. He procured the investiture of it in 1641. The Cleve lands, about three hundred miles from Berlin on the west, separated from the Mark by other States, had been seized by Holland, and were still claimed by the Count Palatine Wolfgang of Neuburg. They had, moreover, for years been the battle-ground in the struggle between Holland and Spain. This was the throne which George William had abandoned in despair, and to which the young Elector had been suddenly called from his earnest studies and his solitary forest walks and thoughts, mingled with youthful dreams of love.

He commenced his task with firmness but prudence. It was a great one; to transform the Mark from chaos into order; to protect it from the raging war; to incorporate permanently into it the Duchy of Prussia, the Cleve lands, and the province of Pomerania, and to disengage it from the toils by which Schwarzenberg had bound it to Austria. Here appears, in one of its first forms, that struggle between the houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg, which weakened Germany, till terminated in 1866 on the field of Königgrätz.

His attention was first directed to Schwarzenberg. It is often related that the guilty minister escaped execution only by flight. This is a mistake. The Elector, fully acquainted with his character, nevertheless retained

him in his service and in his power till the death of Schwarzenberg, which occurred soon after.

The agents of the traitor were gradually dismissed, and the whole system of government changed. The war with Sweden was terminated (1641). Recognizing the obvious difficulty of carrying it on successfully, and justly convinced that sooner or later Pomerania must come to Brandenburg, the Elector concluded an armistice with Oxenstiern to the end of the war, and thus relieved his land from the presence of a brutal foreign soldiery. This peace with Sweden was an act of independence against the House of Austria. In the meantime, he planned for himself an army on which he could rely. It was first necessary to get rid of that which he had received from his father, consisting of demoralized, turbulent ruffians, many of whom had, no doubt, fought among the cut-throats of Wallenstein and Tilly, and who had, moreover, sworn obedience to the Emperor. By a skillful diplomacy with Ferdinand III. (happily for Brandenburg Ferdinand II. was no longer on the scene), he was enabled to dismiss these foreign hirelings, and replace them by an army exclusively Brandenburgers, devoted to himself, thoroughly disciplined, steadily increasing in number, and inspired with a desire to distinguish themselves. They soon reached eight thousand. He had now time to attend to his suffering subjects and ruined lands. His attempts to limit the privileges of the estates, and to fuse the disjointed and antipathetic territories into one, was opposed by the aristocracy, as well as by the people of each territory. While the Elector was endeavoring to free his country from the power of the Emperor, his subjects were always ready to appeal to the Emperor from the Elector. The Prussian nobles disputed his right

to march Brandenburg troops into their duchy; and the Brandenburg estates denied his right to send Brandenburg troops into the Rhenish province, even for the purpose of defending it against invasion. The only bonds which held these heterogeneous elements together were the personal character and exertions of the Elector. Yet, without a fusion of all the provinces, there was no possibility of founding a solid government and an independent land, which could stand when the dilapidated Empire should fall to pieces.

First Marriage, 1646.

At the age of twenty-six, two years before the great treaty, he married Louisa Henrietta, great-granddaughter of the illustrious William of Orange, defender of religion and liberty in the Netherlands against Philip II. and Alba. This was not only a happy matrimonial union, but a wise political alliance. The free Protestant republic of Holland touched the Elector's Rhenish province, and the two powers could strengthen each other. Louisa Henrietta remained his beloved companion more than twenty years, the support and ornament of his throne. He was thus twice blessed in a Christian mother and a Christian wife. Her life was one of labor and charity, and her fair, clear mind and impartial judgment often rendered her husband valuable assistance in the administration of his government, and it is one of the marks of his wisdom that he gratefully accepted it at her hands. Among her many other good works, was the foundation of the Oranienburger Orphan Asylum,—in that frightful period, a doubly valuable blessing. Her hymn, "Jesus, my trust" (Jesus, meine Zuversicht), during the last two hundred years, has, with one or two exceptions, been more frequently sung than any other.

How came the ruined and despised Electorate of Brandenburg to receive such extraordinary terms by the Treaty of Westphalia? They were a tribute, however reluctantly paid, to the young Elector's character. Brandenburg had been already raised above the surrounding States. The inhabitants had been inspired with an attachment to their sovereign and their young fatherland, which was slowly extending even to the Western and Eastern provinces. The ambition of France and Sweden was a just subject of alarm. The North Germans began to regard the Elector as the only man who could help them. Brandenburg was looked upon by the oppressed European populations as a point of emigration and a harbor of safety. Like a dissolving picture which, as we gaze, melts from winter to summer, or from a lonely desert to a prosperous town, the helpless Brandenburg of George William had been silently transformed into a new power, and had taken its place among the other European States. The Elector was regarded with respect. The Peace Congress was afraid of him. With his admirable army, what prevented him from forming an alliance with one of the parties of the treaty, from carrying on the war against the others, and taking the lion's share? The whole of Pomerania, if the interests of the Empire had been considered, ought to have been ceded to a German power, and the Elector, as we have seen, had a legal right. But Sweden, backed by France, was too strong. The Hapsburg house, the Catholic party, the German princes and States, wished to weaken Brandenburg; and, as whatever weakened Brandenburg weakened Germany, the European powers gladly joined, and gave Stettin, the mouth of the Oder, and Western Pomerania, to a foreign, superior

The Great Elector, in connection with the Treaty of Westphalia.

military government, which already, by her fleet, commanded the Baltic. The Emperor was glad to pay his enemies at the expense of Brandenburg, and in this he was supported by nearly all the ecclesiastical and temporal German princes and States, between three hundred and four hundred in number. Had the treaty been concluded in the time of George William, they would have taken Pomerania, and given no indemnification at all. We might then have heard little of the Hohenzollerns, and Brandenburg might now be no more among the nations than Reuss Greitz or Lichtenstein. But the Great Elector was not a George William. By his magnanimity at this period, he merited, indeed, the gratitude of Germany. He labored indefatigably to terminate the war, and largely aided in securing the great peace, by sacrificing to the demand of France and Sweden, at least for the present, his just claim upon all Pomerania, which included the sacrifice of his commerce upon the Baltic. The Congress, therefore, as already mentioned, ceded to him not only East Pomerania, but Magdeburg, etc., etc.; most important lands in the very heart of Germany; solid foundations for a military power. The parties to the treaty, however, did all they prudently could to counteract these advantages. For five years after the treaty, Sweden continued to occupy Eastern as well as Western Pomerania, and the Elector did not obtain possession of Magdeburg for eighteen years (1666). It is probable that the Emperor was not fully aware of the value of the cessions in the hands of so able a sovereign and soldier. They opened the way for the wonderful achievements of the Hohenzollern house. "No event of the seventeenth century had a more important bearing on the subsequent greatness of Prussia than the new form

which the dominions of the Hohenzollerns received by the Treaty of Westphalia."*

A peace of seven years, after the Treaty of Westphalia, enabled the Elector to devote himself wholly to the improvement of his country. Every thing possible was done to heal the wounds of war and develop internal resources. Impoverished families were assisted from the increasing public treasury, and encouraged to enter into the paths of industry and art. In 1653, the Brandenburg estates, confiding more and more in the wisdom and honesty of the Elector, granted an army appropriation for six years, and thus enabled him to strengthen the army at a most opportune moment, although the warlike events of the near future could not have been foreseen. The perfect military organization by which Frederic the Great subsequently maintained himself against all Europe, and which in our day has been so wonderfully perfected and crowned with such results in the hands of the Emperor William, Bismarck, and Moltke, was, no doubt, commenced in this period by the Great Elector. He had a possibility of becoming King of Sweden by marrying the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. As a boy, he had been presented to the great Swedish king, who looked upon him with pleasure as his successor. It may very well be that the German crown floated in his perspective. The course he pursued indicated large aims, but pursued only by fair and noble means. His peaceful labors were suddenly interrupted by war.

Seven years peace, 1648-1655.

Seven years after the Treaty of Westphalia,—fifteen years after the Elector's accession,—the ambitious King of Sweden, Charles X. (Gustavus), successor of Gustavus

* Dr. Paul Hassel, of the Berlin University.

Adolphus' daughter (who had abdicated), undertook a war of conquest against Poland. The King of Poland, his liege lord for Prussia, and the King of Sweden were both enemies of the Elector, who saw his claim on his Duchy of Prussia threatened and reluctantly became involved in the war. Charles Gustavus advanced rapidly and victoriously, abstained from seeking an alliance with the Elector, defeated the Polish army without his assistance, and took possession of Warsaw. The Elector was now obliged to acknowledge Charles Gustavus as his liege lord for Prussia. In the same year, Poland unexpectedly renewed the war, retook Warsaw, and threatened to wrest from Charles Gustavus his late conquest. The latter now called upon the Elector, who agreed to an alliance, in which he made his own conditions. He demanded and received a large extent of territory conquered from Poland; Charles, at the same time, renounced all claim to Prussia, recognizing the Elector as sole and independent sovereign of that duchy. The united armies of Brandenburg and Sweden now advanced against Poland together, eighteen thousand strong. The Poles were five times greater in number. The Polish King vowed he would give the Swedes to his Tartars and Cossacks for breakfast; and that he would cast the Great Elector into a pit, where neither sun nor moon should reach him more. Notwithstanding this discouraging prospect, the Brandenburg-Swedish armies advanced to the attack. The battle lasted three days. The Poles were defeated. For a considerable time, the Brandenburgers maintained the battle alone against the storm of the whole Polish army. But for their bravery, the battle would have been lost.

War with Poland, 1655-1660.

The Treaty of Labiau was a formal recognition by

Sweden of Brandenburg's independent sovereignty over Prussia, although the right to hold ships of war in the Baltic was forbidden. During the next year (1657), the kaleidoscope threw up quite a new figure. The victories of Sweden had frightened Denmark and Austria, who, with Poland, formed a coalition against her. Denmark invaded Sweden, and Charles hastened back to defend his own country, abandoning his Polish conquests. The new war against the Swedish king could not be very well carried on without Brandenburg. The Elector's compulsory relations with Sweden were terminated. The allies invited him to an alliance. He consented, on condition that Poland also should abandon her feudal right over Prussia. In the Treaty of Weylau, Poland recognized the Elector as independent sovereign of that duchy.

Treaty of Labiau, 1656.

Treaty of Weylau, 1657.

Two years subsequently, Charles Gustavus renewed the war, defeated the Danish army (1659), and occupied Schleswig-Holstein. The Elector was appointed commander-in-chief of the allied armies, and here manifested his qualities as a soldier. He turned the current of the war, drove the Swedes out of Schleswig-Holstein, then attacked their armies in Pomerania, seized that province, and would have incorporated it into his own territory; but France (Mazarin), as one of the guarantors of the Treaty of Westphalia, in alliance with England, arrested the war, and demanded the restoration of Fore-Pomerania to the Swedes. A French army appeared on the frontier to enforce the demand. The German Emperor, Leopold I., had then just succeeded Ferdinand III., and jealous of the Elector, gladly acquiesced. The Poles cared no more for the Elector, than the Elector for the Poles.

Thus abandoned by everybody, the Elector again yielded to force, and signed the humiliating Treaty of Oliva, surrendering Fore-Pomerania back to Sweden. There were, however, two conquests which he did not surrender,—his newly-acquired fame as a soldier, and the exclusive sovereignty of Prussia. In this treaty, that sovereignty was acknowledged by both Sweden and Poland. In Prussia, he was now no more a vassal. Here he was a sovereign, outside the Empire, cut free from it and from the house of Hapsburg, and subject to no earthly power. Here was the future center of Prussian greatness. Here, therefore (at Königsberg), when Prussia became a kingdom, her kings were crowned, and here they are still crowned to-day. The ingratitude of Leopold was more striking from the fact, that the Electoral College, in a great measure bought by France, but for the determined intervention of the Elector, would have placed, instead of Leopold, a creature of Louis upon the German throne. In defeating their purpose, the Elector brought upon himself the hatred of the Electoral princes, without acquiring the gratitude of Leopold.

Treaty of Oliva, 1660.

After the humiliating treaty of Oliva, another peaceful period of about seven years enabled the Elector to continue his efforts for the regeneration of his country.

Second interval of peace, 1660-1668.

The taxes up to this time, notwithstanding the efforts of the Elector, had been most unequal. In the country, the land-owners had thrown the burden upon the peasants. In the cities, the rich burghers had shifted it upon the people; the poor man, in some cases, paid twelve times more than the rich. Nowhere does the inherent meanness of

New System of Taxation.

human nature more plainly appear than in the efforts of the rich of all countries and centuries to throw the weight of the taxes upon the poor. The Elector during his whole reign had earnestly endeavored to remedy this evil; the result appeared at last, in a new and impartial system, the obvious blessings of which soon overcame all opposition. It was universally designated "a gift of Heaven."

Religion.

He bestowed equal attention upon religious affairs, and endeavored to effect a union between the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Like Paul and Melanchthon, he thought Christians, sincerely united on the great fundamental truths as set forth in the Apostles' Creed, ought not to be separated on less central tenets into unfriendly sects, but ought to be left each one to his own prayerful study of the Scriptures; and, as followers of Christ, ought, "at all times, to *continue together, with one accord, in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship.*" No such questions separated the Apostles. The union attempted by the Elector has since been approved by many undoubted Christians. Frederic William III. and IV. of Prussia endeavored to accomplish the same union. But these endeavors have always been opposed by other earnest and wise men, whose Christianity is equally above dispute. The subject was warmly debated in the time of the Elector, and some of the most eminent Brandenburg preachers occasionally forgot, that "a soft answer turneth away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger," and "Though I give up my body to be burned and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." The Elector issued an edict, forbidding the preachers to ascend the pulpit without first signing a promise not to use angry words against any person on account of religious opinions.

Another question was settled with less difficulty. The Elector concluded a wise treaty with the Count Palatine of Neuburg, which definitively settled the Cleve-Berg-Julich question. After fifty years struggling, it was agreed that the territory situated in the Palatinate should be ceded to Count Neuburg, and that, till now provisionally in possession of Brandenburg, should be definitively ceded to the Elector. Prussia and the Cleve lands were now both added to his dominions. The young Prussian eagle, says a historian, thus dipped its wings at the same time into the Memel and the Rhine.

Cleve land question, 1666.

It will be remembered that, although Magdeburg had been awarded to the Elector by the Treaty of Westphalia, his enemies had succeeded in withholding it from him. After waiting eighteen years, and when quite strong enough to accomplish his purpose without bloodshed, he suddenly entered Magdeburg with a military force, and took possession of the town, which was immediately transformed into a stronger fortress than it had previously been.

The Elector takes possession of Madgeburg, 1666.

His happy union with Louisa Henrietta was, in this interval, terminated by her death; a great misfortune, and the herald of other misfortunes. We can not altogether suppress the idea that some of the actions, to be recorded of this great and good man, had she lived longer, would not have been committed. In 1668, he married Dorothea von Holstein-Glücksburg.

Death of his wife, June 18, 1667.

Second Marriage, 1668.

The fusion of the different provinces was conducted slowly. The Elector aimed at exercising only those powers without which a central government can

not exist. The most obstinate opposition was offered by the estates of Prussia. They were ardent Lutherans, and strongly opposed to the Elector's plan of uniting the two Churches. This religious difference imbittered the quarrel. The estates refused to recognize the sovereignty of the Elector, and called the King of Poland to their assistance. A conspiracy was formed by Colonel von Kalkstein and a man named Roth, to rend the Duchy from Brandenburg. After vainly trying persuasion and reason, the Elector, at the head of a body of troops, entered Königsberg, and arrested Roth, who was tried and convicted of high treason. He was offered a pardon, if he would ask for it. Roth haughtily refused, and remained sixteen years in prison till his death. The Prussian States now yielded, and did homage to the Elector as their rightful sovereign. Kalkstein fled into Poland, turned Roman Catholic, and renewed the conspiracy. The Elector, not without a violation of international law, caused him to be arrested in Warsaw. Kalkstein was tried, condemned, and beheaded in Memel, 1672. It is said he was first put to the torture.

Fusion of the different provinces.

Suppression of the Conspiracy of Kalkstein, 1672.

The Elector diligently persevered in his plan of internal improvement. The first Prussian elementary school dates from this period. Art was not forgotten. Fifty painters, beside sculptors and engravers, were employed at one time. The most valuable original paintings of the present Berlin Picture-gallery (old Museum), from Paul Veronese, Titian, Van Dyke, were collected. He sent archæologists into Italy, and the Prussian library contains Chinese and Indian manuscripts purchased by him.

Internal improvements.

Not only the condition of the people, but the face of

the country had undergone a surprising change. The sandy soil was not favorable for agriculture, nor cattle; but, under genial care during twenty-five years, had been gradually improved, and the country presented a striking contrast to the solitary desert and black ruins of 1648. Disgusted with the long war, the inhabitants rejoiced in the opportunity of peaceful labor. Crowds of emigrants from Bohemia, Savoy, France, Silesia, and other lands, exchanged their still misgoverned provinces for a country ruled wisely and uprightly by a really Christian prince. The fields began to smile. Post-roads facilitated intercourse. Trades flourished: copper, tin, and steel works, silk, cloth fabrics, and musket factories, and sugar refineries, employed hundreds. The windmill appeared. The clouds of smoke and fire which reddened the evening sky ascended now, not from the village burned by the drunken troops of Tilly and Wallenstein, but from the peaceful forge, where an old soldier, transformed into a smith, was beating out the farmer's plow and shoeing his horse. Even the sandy regions waved with buckwheat and the potato; while the more fertile districts, instead of lonely ruins and neglected heaths, began to present villages, orchards, and gardens, birds singing, children playing, corn-fields, green meadows, and sheep and cattle grazing. By the Frederic-William Canal, the Havel, Spree, and Oder were united, and the beloved father of his people shared their pleasure as he beheld the first boat pass the Schloss of Berlin, on its way from Breslau, in Silesia, to the great sea-port, Hamburg.

General improvement.

The striking improvements were not, indeed, completed quite so rapidly as the changes in a dissolving picture; but they went on steadily till the end of his

reign, and occupied him even during his military campaigns, sometimes on the field of battle.

We now come to the three robber-wars, which Louis XIV., in alliance with the Turks, and with German traitors worse than the Turks, undertook against Spain, Holland, and Germany.

Louis XIV., King of France, 1661-1715.

Louis XIV., eldest son of Louis XIII., on the death of his father, was five years old. His mother, Anne of Austria, assisted by her prime minister, Cardinal Mazarin, held the scepter as Regentess till Mazarin's death (1661). Louis had till then been purposely kept unacquainted with public affairs, and passed for a mere pleasure-loving boy. At the death of Mazarin, he had reached the age of twenty-two, and when asked, as a matter of form, by one of the functionaries of the State, "to *whom* the ministers were thenceforth to address themselves," replied: "*To me.*" From that time, he reigned despotically, without diet or estates, on the principle, *L'état c'est moi*, and *Tel est mon plaisir!* Leopold I. had just become German Emperor, and reigned nearly fifty years. Frederic William, the Great Elector, had already wielded the scepter of Brandenburg twenty-one years, and continued to hold it twenty-seven years longer. Charles II. of England began to reign about the same time with Louis, and for twenty-five years was sometimes his paid accomplice in many abominations. We are struck with the circumstance that these so prominent contemporaries remained so long on the scene, and that Louis, the greatest scourge of Europe, reigned longer than either of the others. The first part of Louis' reign showed him in a favorable light. He governed skillfully, although not to bestow happiness upon his subjects, but to prepare for

the execution of a grand plan of unprincipled conquest. The treasury (Colbert) overflowed. Colonies were established and maintained by a powerful fleet. A formidable army (Louvois), led by world-renowned generals (Vauban, Condé, Touraine, Luxemburg), was taught to consider war and glory as the grand objects of existence. A constellation of literary men (Corneille, Racine, Molière, Boileau, Bossuet, Lafontaine, Lesage, Fénelon, Pascal, Fléchier) shed the splendor of real genius upon the most powerful and brilliant throne of Europe. At an unknown expense, some say a thousand million francs, Louis caused to be erected the palace of Versailles, intended to eclipse all other similar edifices. The immense number of laborers, and the real expense, appear to have been intentionally concealed. Among the workmen, at one time, were thirty thousand soldiers. Here were concentrated all that could be imagined of beauty, luxury, and grandeur. Here the vainglorious monarch proposed to lead a life of unbounded happiness. The resplendent pile of architecture was adorned with a profusion of gardens, groves, avenues, terraces, alleys, water-works, statues, vases, sculptures, mirrors, paintings, pleasure palaces, marble and alabaster flights of steps, superb façades, theaters, chapel, dancing-halls. Here Louis gave fêtes, the most dazzling which had ever been seen (each cost, it was said, almost as much as one of his wars), crowded with ministers, soldiers, poets, orators, whose fame yet fills the world; and with women, whose beauty, grace, and brilliant toilette were the admiration and envy of the rest of Europe. Here Louis appeared almost as a god, and listened with pleasure to the parasites who bowed down to him with adoration. His smile was honor, wealth, and rank; his angry glance struck like the lightning. Amid

the bishops, priests, and great authors, sparkling with diamonds, and bowed down to as the dispensers of the royal favor, appeared the unblushing mistresses of the mighty king: Montespan, La Valliére, Foutanges, etc.

There have been several golden ages; that of Augustus, that of Leo X., etc.; the golden age of Louis strove to throw all these into the shade. What would this proud king have said, while so insolently laboring to destroy the German Empire, had he known that the Empire was, indeed, about to fall; but that its destruction would be preceded by that of the old French monarchy, accompanied by horrors yet unimagined; could he have seen the so rapidly approaching reign of terror; the murderous mob in Versailles; the convention in the Tuileries; the guillotine permanent before the royal palace; the blood canal cut from it to the Seine; the heads of a hundred thousand Frenchmen and, at last, of the King and Queen of France held up to the screaming people; the Corsican on his Imperial throne; and all the subsequent events, to the sieges of Sedan and Paris?

First Robber War (Devolution War), 1667-1668.

In pursuance of his grand plan of conquest, Louis commenced a war against Spain by attacking the Spanish Netherlands, on the plea that a portion of that province had *devolved* upon him by inheritance. Even with a miscroscope, we can not discover an atom of moral or legal right, as whatever claim might once have existed, had been legally renounced. The way had been prepared for these wars by an immense system of bribery. The most influential personages of Germany and Europe were secured by large pensions, and promises of rank and territories. Agents were hired to work for Louis, in German, Spanish, Dutch, English, and Swedish cabinets. He bought bishops, min-

isters, parliaments. A great league of German princes, called the "Rhine League," was one of his instruments. Half the German College of Electors had become his property. King Charles XI. of Sweden, Charles II. of England, were his pensioners; even the German Emperor himself, Leopold I., a weak and fickle character, was brought into his service by the two chief Imperial cabinet ministers, Prince Lobkowitz and Count Auersperg. The German prince whom Louis most feared, and for whose alliance he had offered the greatest price, the Elector of Brandenburg, resisted all his attempts. The Elector saw in Louis, the arch enemy of Germany, commencing a series of robber-wars, and that Spain, Holland, Germany, Europe, and Protestantism were in danger. He, therefore, strove to form an alliance against him. Unable to buy the Elector, Louis, at the head of thirty-five thousand men, marched suddenly into the Netherlands without opposition, crossed the frontier of the Electorate, and seized the Cleve lands. The Elector, taken by surprise, to save his Rhenish territories, signed a treaty of neutrality (1668).

Secret treaty between Leopold I. and Louis, 1668.

The two traitors in the cabinet of Vienna, Lobkowitz and Auersperg (the latter bribed by the promise of the Cardinal's hat), brought Leopold to sign a secret treaty with Louis, the object of which was to partition the Spanish monarchy. Austria was to take Milan, a considerable part of Spanish territory, portions of Tuscany, Sardinia, the Canary and Balearic islands, and the West Indies. France was to receive the Netherlands, Navarre, Naples, and Sicily. Leopold was thus made to become a party in the robber-wars of Louis. This secret treaty was not brought to light till long subsequently.

Whether any hint of it had transpired, or from whatever cause, Holland succeeded in forming an alliance with England and Sweden. The British nation had become alarmed, and the Protestant Swedes thought their religion in danger; so, in spite of their bought kings, those two governments, with Holland, formed a triple alliance, and forbade the further advance of the French troops. With the secret Austrian treaty in his hand, Louis was not unwilling, for the moment, to obey the allies; for why should he carry on a war for territories which he hoped soon to secure without a war? He knew he could dissolve the triple alliance. He could count upon Charles II., Charles XI., and Leopold I. The Elector of Brandenburg still resisted all his offers. Louis, therefore, signed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which he restored to Spain the principal territories he had taken. Deep, however, was his resentment against Holland for having dared to confront him. The Hollanders laughed at him for his timid obedience to their command, and coined a medal, on which appeared Joshua (Holland) commanding the sun (Louis) to stand still.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668.

Louis took four years to prepare for his second war. Although the Hollanders had laughed at him for abandoning his first war against the Spanish Netherlands, he had obtained by it an important advantage. He had cunningly retained a number of apparently unimportant places on the frontier of the Netherlands. Among his generals was Vauban, a military engineer, with a remarkable genius for conducting sieges and repairing fortresses. During his life, he restored several hundred old fortresses, and built

Second robber-war of Louis (against Holland), 1672-1678; closed with the treaties of Nymwegen and St. Germain en Laye.

between thirty and forty new ones. As Louis had projected a system of robber-wars, it was his policy in his treaties of peace, with ostentatious generosity, sometimes to give up wide and apparently valuable territories, retaining only such narrow spots as he knew to be good military points. This he had done at the close of the first war, and here Vauban immediately erected impregnable fortresses as the basis of future operations. The particular object of the second war was to incorporate into the French Empire the republic of Holland, with her fleet, her rich colonies, and her world-wide commerce. The secret treaty with Austria relieved him from fear of opposition on the part of Germany. There were, however, other motives. In common with the Catholic party, he hated Holland for her successful Protestantism, and for her war of independence against Philip II. and Alba. He hated her freedom and republican form of government, and he personally hated her for the insulting pamphlets which the Dutch were in the habit of directing against him. He wished her humiliation and destruction. The war, therefore, was one, not only of conquest, covetousness, and bigotry, but of revenge. It was, in fact, a new campaign against Protestantism,—an attempt to renew the Thirty Years' War. Pope Clement X. sent his blessing and a large subsidy in gold.

During this war, the French soldiery in Holland perpetrated such infamous outrages against men, women, and children as to justify the idea that they had received orders to commit as many crimes as they could.

Holland, at this time, was torn by civil dissensions. The house of Orange had lost power, and was excluded from high State offices. It was now represented by the young William of Orange, nephew to the Great Elector

of Brandenburg (afterward William III., King of England). Had the De Witt and Orange party united, they might more successfully have opposed the advance of Louis; but party feeling was too great. The gold of Louis had found its way into the States General. The fleet and army had been entirely and purposely neglected, and the existing government, for reasons best known to itself, appeared willing to let the country go to ruin.

State of Holland at this time.

State of the Empire.

The Empire was helpless. The highest authorities had been bribed. The preparations of Louis for the new war were unnoticed by the Diet.

So completely was Germany in the power of Louis that, in a time of peace and without any pretext, he seized the whole of Lorraine with impunity. The Turks, instigated by him, were attacking the Empire on its eastern frontier. Leopold was, moreover, absorbed by a great conspiracy in Hungary, which aimed at separating that province from the Empire, and which was, also, fomented by Louis. (The chiefs were subsequently beheaded.) One honest diplomate at the court of Vienna, Lissola, raised his voice and warned the Emperor. But Lobkowitz was omnipotent. Lissola was disgraced. It was a grand time for the German princes and the College of Electors. Splendid rewards, rich, wide territories floated before their minds. The Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Münster made an alliance with Louis. The triple alliance of Holland, England, and Sweden was easily dissolved. Charles II. of England had always been the secret supporter of France. He hated Protestantism, liberty, and every thing noble. The Swedish King was ready

Lorraine seized, 1670.

Lissola.

to do any thing for gold. These two powers entered into a new alliance with France against Holland (Charles II., 1670—Charles XI. [Sweden], 1672).

By the threatened war, Brandenburg was in danger. Louis renewed to the Elector the most advantageous offers; the richest part of the Netherlands should be added to his dominions. The Elector had no reason at that moment to love Holland. His relations had been driven from power; his alliance was not sought. But he steadily resisted; placed his army on a war footing, and waited. Louis commenced the war by personally leading one hundred thousand men into Holland, supported by Condé, Turenne, etc. Twenty thousand German troops served in his ranks. Southern Holland was conquered without opposition. The advance of the French, and the inactivity of the Dutch government, caused an insurrection. John De Witt was torn to pieces by the people. The young William of Orange was recalled, and placed, as Stadtholder, at the head of the republic. An inundation, effected by opening the sluices, checked the advance of the French, and saved Amsterdam. Holland now turned to the Elector, who concluded an alliance (1672), and prepared earnestly to carry on the war. His next step was to seek an alliance with the Emperor (June, 1672). Lobkowitz instantly accepted. How little did the Elector suspect that the court of Vienna had so lately concluded a secret treaty of neutrality with France, had become a party to the robber-war of Louis, and that Lobkowitz was betraying him by an infamous fraud. Thus the Elector, sacrificing himself for Holland and for Germany, was now going into the war, depending on his Imperial ally, in secret, the friend of Louis, and who had bound himself to keep the Elector

Brandenburg.

from the field of battle. The Brandenburg army, impatient to march, waited only the arrival of the Imperial troops, commanded by the Field-Marshal *Montecuculi*. But the promised troops did not arrive. Long delays followed. The Elector was ordered to march his army to the Upper Rhine, far from the scene of action. Montecuculi had received a secret order to avoid a battle. The honest soldier exclaimed: "*It would save time if my orders could come direct from Paris!*" The Brandenburg army was marched hither and thither. Louis, Lobkowitz, Auersperg, the Rhine princes, must have laughed heartily, as scoundrels always laugh when they succeed in betraying honest men.

Peace of Vossem, 1673.

While the Elector's efforts to meet the enemy were thus defeated, Turenne had penetrated into Westphalia, and was on the point of seizing the Cleve lands. To save them, the Elector was compelled to make a separate treaty of peace with France, at Vossem. France restored the Cleve lands, and paid eight hundred thousand francs, at the same time, stipulating to the Elector the right to re-enter the field should the Empire be attacked. The world was astonished at this treaty, but the Elector had retreated only the better to advance.

The Empire declares war against Louis XIV., 1675.

The ambition of Louis, increased by what it fed on, at last opened the eyes of the court of Vienna. Austria began to perceive her false position. Six princes of the College of Electors were now in the pay of Louis. French pamphleteers declared that monarch already, by right and power, the real German Emperor. A dispatch of Leopold was left unanswered. Louis had no time to reply to every vassal. The sleepy Leopold at last awoke. Prince

Lobkowitz was dismissed. Lissola, called to the head of the ministry, instantly concluded an alliance with Holland, and declared war against France. The British Parliament compelled Charles II. to abandon his treaty with France (1674), and to make peace with Holland. Brandenburg, turning a deaf ear to the promises and threats of Louis, joined the coalition against him. The wind had changed, and the Empire, a stately war-ship with all sail set, now bore down against France. "*The peace*," said Lissola, "*shall be concluded only at the gates of Paris.*" Louis advanced and took Franche-Comté. Condé pushed into the Netherlands. The Elector sent a division of the Brandenburg army, under Dörfflinger, to re-inforce the Prince of Orange, and Condé would probably have been beaten but for an order from Vienna commanding the Elector, with his army, to another point. The Prince of Orange met Condé at Senef, in the Netherlands. The battle was so well fought by the Prince as to leave no doubt that, had he been aided by the Brandenburgers, he would have achieved a great victory. The order from Vienna had been the work of Lobkowitz, who had regained, at least, a part of his influence. The French were waiting re-inforcements in a disadvantageous position. The Elector earnestly pressed the allies to seize the moment for a decisive battle. All his efforts were vain. At this moment he received an astonishing piece of intelligence. A powerful Swedish army, under Wrangel, had invaded Brandenburg; seized the three principal passes of the Havel; was, in fact, master of Potsdam and Berlin, and threatened to deprive him of his throne. For an immense sum, the King of Sweden had bound himself to attack any prince, at any moment Louis should name. When the Elector

Battle of Senef.

received the news, he exclaimed: "*This will add Pomerania to Brandenburg.*"

Battle of Fehrbellin, June 28, 1675.

The Swedes had found no military force in Brandenburg. The peasants rose, *en masse*, with scythes and flails, bearing flags with the inscription: "*We are only poor peasants, but we are ready to die for our Prince.*" This enthusiastic affection for the Elector indicated a process slowly going on in all the provinces of his dominion. The people had found they had a fatherland, and were ready to die for it. But scythes and flails were not sufficient to beat back the Swedes, and Wrangel took possession of the country, reposing on his laurels, expediting news of his conquest, under the idea that the Elector was two or three hundred miles distant on the Rhine. The three Havel passes seized were Havelberg, Rathenau, and Brandenburg. Wrangel intended to unite with a German traitor, the Duke of Hanover, also in the pay of the French King, and at Fehrbellin held an open communication with Swedish Pomerania. While the troops at the pass of Rathenau, near Potsdam, were leisurely waiting new orders from their victorious general, they were thunder-struck at the sudden appearance of a squadron of Brandenburg cavalry, the fiery Dörfflinger at their head. After a desperate street-battle, the Swedes fled. Rathenau was the central pass of the three occupied by Wrangel. The Swedish army had been thus cut in two. The right wing in Havelberg had been separated from the left wing in Brandenburg. The Swedes were, in fact, already beaten, and from insolent conquerors dividing their spoils, suddenly transformed into alarmed prisoners, seeking only escape. The Elector had reached the spot without his infantry, but with his splendid cavalry maneuvered so

as to hold fast the flying Swedes till the rest of his army should arrive. But the irrepressible ardor of one of his officers, the Landgrave of Hesse Homburg, who commanded a division in the van, and who prematurely attacked at Fehrbellin, in the neighborhood of Potsdam, brought on a battle, in which the Brandenburgers were outnumbered by their enemy. It lasted two hours. The current of victory changed three or four times. Several of the noblest Brandenburg officers fell at the moment when their presence was most needed; one after the other—Murner at the head of his regiment under a storm of bullets; Henniger, as the battle appeared turning against them, reeled from his saddle. All seemed lost when the Elector, like Gustavus Adolphus, crying, "*The divine power makes us victorious through Jesus Christ*," placed himself at the head of the nearest regiment whose officers had fallen, shouting: "*Courage, brave soldiers! I will be your captain; follow me to victory, or I will die with you. Forward!*"

An eye-witness described him at this moment. His clarion voice, his flashing eyes, his stern orders acted on the troops like magic. He swept at their head into the most furious turmoil of the battle. His equerry and friend, Froeben, fell dead at his side. The Elector had ridden into the midst of the enemy till he was completely surrounded by Swedish riders. His death seemed certain, when nine dragoons cut their way to their commander and rescued him (the German word is *hewed him out*). After this the Swedes strove only to escape. Wrangel's right wing was annihilated. The remnant of his army took shelter behind the walls of Fehrbellin. The tourist through Prussia will often see a statue or picture of the Elector at the moment of placing himself at the head of

his wavering regiment, wearing the heavy iron helmet covered by the well-known felt hat. The following day the Swedes, driven out of Fehrbellin, retreated from the Mark to Mecklenburg.

Thoughts on the Battle of Fehrbellin.

The battle of Fehrbellin greatly strengthened the position of Brandenburg. It had been fought by the cavalry alone, immediately after a forced march from the Rhine; during which for eleven days the horses were not unsaddled. Here, for the first time, the Brandenburgers fought with no assistance from others for their own sovereign and fatherland. Here no Lobkowitz hemmed the military movements. The battle astounded Europe by the audacity of the plan and brilliancy of the execution. Louis caused models to be made of the field, that he might study the operations of the battle. The victory was celebrated in Vienna, Madrid, the Hague, Copenhagen. England and Russia sought an alliance with the Elector, who, from this time, received the appellation of *Great*. The nations of Europe acquiesced. The poets wrote and the people sang songs in his praise. History has inscribed that name upon her page, and by that name posterity will always honor him.

A few days after the battle, the Elector made a triumphal entry into Berlin, where he was received by the people with indescribable rejoicings as the savior of his country.

After Fehrbellin.

After Fehrbellin, the Elector seized Fore-Pomerania, which Sweden had justly forfeited, and annexed it to Brandenburg. His army had now reached forty thousand men. The war continued four years, during which he conquered Stettin (1677), Stralsund (1678). Germany was relieved from the

presence of a powerful enemy and regained her ancient natural frontier. But Louis was again at work undermining this noble conquest. He had bought another king, John Sobiesky of Poland. The Swedes had raised a new army in Livonia (now in Russia—capital, Riga—at that time a Swedish province), and aided by Sobiesky, once more invaded the territory of the Elector.

The armed Sledge party, 1678, 1679.

It was an intensely cold winter. The rivers and haffs were all frozen. The Elector marched his whole army to meet the invaders. At the head of the gulf of Danzig is an inlet of the sea forming a long lagoon called the *Frische Haff*, fifty-seven miles long, twelve feet deep; near the town of Memel is another called the *Kurrische Haff*. As the Brandenburg army advanced, the Swedes retreated northward, their way marked by heaps of dead from hunger and cold. In order to cut off their retreat, the Elector led his army over the frozen haffs. He overtook the enemy near Riga and forced them to a battle, in which they were almost entirely destroyed. The distance of Riga from Berlin is about four hundred miles.

Treaty of Nymwegen, 1679.

While the Elector was thus building up the power of Brandenburg and Germany, a congress, consisting of representatives of Holland, France, Spain, Sweden, and the Empire, had assembled at Nymwegen (Holland), and concluded a peace without regard to Brandenburg. Holland wanted peace on account of her commerce, and sacrificed the Elector. The Emperor was glad of an occasion to check the growth of Brandenburg. Sweden, after all her defeats and losses, came out of the war a conqueror. The treaty restored to Holland all her territory, and gave to Louis twelve fortresses on the frontier of the Netherlands. The duke

Charles of Lorraine was offered the restoration of his duchy, but on such humiliating conditions that he refused to accept it. The victim of the war was Brandenburg. The treaty stipulated that all the territory (Pomerania, etc.) awarded to Sweden by the treaty of Westphalia and just regained by the sword of the Elector, should be surrendered back to Sweden. In case of opposition from the Elector, France received the right to march troops across German territory, and taking it for granted that opposition would be offered by the Elector, a large French military force had already advanced to the Weser. Every fair-minded man not in the plot regarded this treaty with astonishment and indignation. The people making a pun on the word *Nymwegen*, called it the peace of *take away*.

Treaty of St. Germain en Laye.

Deep and dark were the emotions of the Elector at the conclusion of this treaty. Flushed with victory, at the head of an army of forty thousand men, he weighed for a moment the wisdom of defending his rights by the sword; but, on reflection, he found it necessary for the present to bend his head, as he had more than once been before obliged to do; and on the 9th of June he signed the concluding treaty of this war at *St. Germain en Laye*, a chateau of the French king, on the Seine. It was a surrender of the most glorious conquest of his life. As he appended his name, he cited aloud the line of Virgil: "*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*,"* as if he had prophetically caught in the future a vague view of the Emperor William I. and Bismarck, of Koniggratz and Sedan.

In this war, which had lasted seven years, the Elector

* "An avenger will some day arise from our bones."—*Virg. Æn.*, IV., 625.

was the only party who had acted honorably. Louis appears as a royal brigand. The Elector, faithful to his country, his religion, and his allies, stood the defender of Protestantism and German liberty against Roman, Swedish, and French despotism. He had risked his throne to save Holland, who in the hour of need had abandoned him. He had refused the bribes of France to save the Empire, and the Empire had perfidiously joined France and betrayed him. As a German prince, he had confronted France in defense of Germany, and the whole three hundred German princes and states had gladly acquiesced in the plot by which he was sacrificed. Although, without help from others, he had driven away the Swedes, the dangerous enemy of the Empire,—not a single German prince stood forth to cry "shame" at the cowardly meanness of the treaty. The Elector was surrounded only by foes or traitors; on the north, the Swedes, on the east, Poland, on the south, Leopold and the Empire, and on the west, a great French army already upon German ground. His astonishment must have been as great as his indignation. He stood alone with his own country and all Europe against him. But although his enemies had torn from him his well-won conquests, there was a higher conquest which they could not take away, the respect of his army, his subjects, and Europe. The weak point of his position as Elector had always been the heterogeneous elements of which his dominions were composed, and except in Brandenburg, the absence of affection for a common fatherland. But now, by his heroic deeds, the services he had rendered the people, and the cowardly injustice inflicted upon him by his allies, he became an object of general sympathy. A national sentiment of reverence and pride, not only in

Influence of the Elector's character.

Brandenburg, but also in Pomerania, Prussia, and the Rhenish provinces, began to concentrate upon him. Perhaps this was his greatest triumph. The mean cunning of his enemies had accomplished the very process which they desired to prevent. Instead of destroying his greatness, they had increased it; instead of breaking his dominions apart, they had fused them more firmly together. Throughout all those dominions, from the Memel to the Rhine, rising above local interests, increased more and more the sense of a common fatherland, independent of Germany. Thus the great Elector, whose praises now resounded through Europe, concentrated upon himself the confidence, the gratitude, the pride, and the affection of all his various subjects.

Another insult from the Court of Vienna.

Another act of the House of Hapsburg was deeply felt. At the moment when the Elector was attacked by the Swedes (battle of Fehrbellin), the Silesian principalities Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau (see 1571), by the death without issue of the Duke Frederic von Liegnitz, the last prince, fell to Brandenburg. Although absorbed by the Swedish war, the Elector immediately presented his claim to these duchies at the Court of Vienna. The claim was contemptuously rejected, and the duchies bestowed upon a Roman Catholic prince.

What the Great Elector did after the Treaty of Nymwegen.

Nine months after the Treaty of Nymwegen, the Elector took a colossal step. He concluded a secret treaty of alliance with Louis XIV. Louis for ten years guaranteed his possessions to the Elector, and agreed to pay one hundred thousand francs a year. The Elector agreed to allow the free passage of French troops over his territory, and at the next election of emperor to vote for Louis

or the Dauphin. The clause according free passage to the French troops was a reply to the similar clause in the treaty of Nymwegen. This astonishing step was no doubt an act of gloomy vengeance. Louis may have confidentially revealed the secret treaty with Leopold for the partition of Europe. The Elector would there discover how he had been trifled with, made a laughing-stock, and led by the nose at the head of his army everywhere except to the battle-field. Whatever may have been the arguments, they accomplished their purpose. The great Christian Elector, who had stood so firm against promises, threats, and gold, could not resist the temptation to avenge the immense wrongs he had suffered. Louis had for years earnestly yet unsuccessfully intrigued to catch him. Now, there he was in the net at last. The Elector had taken a dangerous and disgraceful step; and the danger and disgrace must have gradually broken upon him. The Empire was surrounded by enemies. Was that a time for him to abandon it? Mohammedanism was advancing to destroy Christianity. Another consideration: In his robber-wars, Louis had principally feared the Elector. Now they were allies, would not France carry out her plans against Protestantism with greater effrontery? She was undermining and attacking the Empire on all its frontiers. She had raised up against it Sweden, Poland, Hungary, Turkey. Could the Elector at this time stand an idle spectator, and even become an accomplice?

Alliance with Louis XIV., Oct. 20, 1679.

The consequences of the treaty with Louis soon began to appear. That treaty was signed October, 1679, and immediately afterward the notorious Reunion Chambers appeared. These were four judicial tribunals established by Louis in

Reunion Chambers, 1680-1683.

France. Their duty was, after a one-sided examination, to decide arbitrarily what Spanish, Dutch, German, and other territories ceded to France by the treaty of Westphalia and previous treaties, had not yet been completely surrendered to her. Upon the decision of these Chambers, Louis immediately seized six hundred different portions of territory, including villages, districts, towns in the Netherlands, Würtemberg, the Palatinate, etc. The Elector, no doubt, saw that these acts would scarcely have been ventured upon had he remained faithful to his duty as a German prince. The sword in one hand, corruption in the other, and the only German prince whom he had ever feared, in alliance with him, Louis more openly showed his contempt for the Empire, and lost no opportunity to give the dying lion a kick. While conspiring with the venal German princes of the West, while fomenting a vast conspiracy of the Hungarian magnates in the East, and while intriguing, at last successfully, to bring upon Vienna another formidable Turkish army, Louis seized also the old German Imperial town of Strassburg.

He did not attempt this, till he had bought its bishop and principal burghers. By the treachery of the German bishop, Franz Igon von Fürstemberg, the matter was arranged. In a time of perfect peace, on the pretext of holding a review, a French general, Montclass, collected thirty-five thousand troops on the French territory adjoining the town. In the night, while the inhabitants, who had not been bought, were asleep, the troops silently surrounded the town, seized the guards, crowded into the gates, and took possession. The French general declared that unless Louis were acknowledged as sovereign, the town would be plun-

Strassburg seized, 1681.

dered and destroyed. The people had no alternative. The Protestant worship in the cathedral was forbidden, and the building handed over to the Jesuit bishops. Louis made a pompous, triumphal entry into the city, of course, amid the delighted acclamations of his new subjects. The Bishop Fürstemberg greeted him as the Savior. These monstrous acts were regarded by the German nation with indignant amazement, but what could they do? The helpless Empire protested, but could neither prevent nor punish. It was drifting into the greatest of its Turkish wars, and seemed in danger of being divided between the Mohammedans and the French.

In 1685, Louis was secretly married to Madame de Maintenon, by whose means he was brought more than ever into the hands of the Jesuits.

Madame de Maintenon, 1685.

What did the Elector do on beholding the approaching destruction of his country? He still looked on, and stood with folded arms, like Coriolanus at the gates of Rome. He seemed to say, "You have cast your pilot overboard. Now steer yourself through the storm." He even concluded a second and closer alliance with Louis, and demanded from Leopold the surrender of his Silesian duchies, which, however, were not (probably could not then be) surrendered. There was something grand in the Elector's indignation. But he soon became ashamed of it.

Second Treaty of the Elector with Louis XIV., 1682.

Invited by the magnates of Hungary, urged on by the intrigues of Louis, and promising themselves an easy victory, the Turks rallied all their forces for a new grand attack on Vienna. Louis had inflamed the Porte with the idea of

Siege of Vienna by the Turks, 1682-1683.

partitioning Austria, and enabling the Turks to penetrate deeper into Europe. An army (two hundred and thirty thousand) sent by Mohammed IV., under Kara Mustapha Bassa, advanced from Adrianople to Raab. The Imperial army, commanded by the Duke Charles of Lorraine, was only sixty thousand strong. The celebrated general, Prince Eugene, now fought for the first time under the Austrian banner. A division of the Imperialists under him advanced against the formidable enemy as far as Raab, but, after a short conflict, were driven back to Vienna. The capital was now in a wild panic. The Emperor, with his family, fled. Sixty thousand of the inhabitants followed his example. The town was transformed into a fortress; gates closed against all ingress or egress. The great Elector, at last, so far relented as to offer a re-inforcement to Vienna, but Leopold (the thief suspects each bush an officer) declined, from fear that the Elector would take the opportunity to seize the Silesian duchies.

Vienna invested, July 17, 1683.

The town was now invested. The siege lasted seven weeks. The garrison was encouraged by the assurance that a great united German and Polish army, eighty thousand strong, raised by the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, and by John Sobiesky, King of Poland (who had been at last detached from the interests of Louis XIV.), was marching to their rescue. During the siege, the Turks stormed eighteen times in vain. The German army did not come. The Turkish miners dug their subterranean way deeper and deeper beneath the city. The circle of enemies continually contracted; the Empire appeared lost, and Vienna destined to become a mere slaughter-house, when at last the night-watch, from the top of the St. Stephen steeple,

discovered the watch-fires of the long-expected re-inforcements.

Battle of Vienna, 1683.

The battle immediately took place; the relief army, supported by the Vienna garrison, which issued from the gates, and inspired by the courage of the Duke Charles, King John Sobiesky, and the other leaders, achieved a resplendent victory. The Turks fled in a panic, abandoning immense treasures. Among the spoils was found a plan of Louis for conducting the siege. The battle-field was covered with twenty-five thousand Turks, dead or wounded; fifty thousand had previously perished, many by the plague. The Imperialists had also suffered heavy losses—fourteen thousand dead or wounded. The Sultan commanded Kara Mustapha to be immediately hanged by a silken cord. The German people gave the glory to the Duke Charles, Sobiesky, and the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria. The praises of these heroes resounded through the land. In the heart of Leopold, who had been the first to fly, they must have awakened shame and envy; and the great Elector had discovered that the place of honor for him at this historical moment had not been on the side of the French King. He feared the song of the people: "Why abodest thou among the sheepfolds to hear the bleatings of the flocks?"

Humiliating Treaty of Ratisbon between the Empire and Louis, Aug. 16, 1684.

The Vienna victory did little to save the Empire from its other dangers. During the year after that event, Leopold signed a disgraceful treaty, in which he abandoned for twenty years all the territory that Louis had seized by the Reunion Chambers, including even Strassburg. Ceding them for twenty years was only a shamefaced way of ceding them forever. This treaty

also could not have been made if the Elector had been at his post. What if Vienna had been taken, its garrison slaughtered, German towns plundered and burned, women and children carried away into slavery? It was not the Elector, but the Duke Charles, Prince Eugene, and even a foreign king, Sobiesky, who had averted this danger. The resentment of the Elector was slowly subsiding. He was growing older. His health was beginning to fail. He was coming nearer the unseen world. In short, he was ashamed of the rôle he had been playing, and sought only an occasion to abandon it. When a man earnestly waits an opportunity to do either good or evil, that opportunity will, in general, soon present itself.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Oct. 18, 1685.

The infatuated Louis, no longer fearing Brandenburg and influenced by Madame de Maintenon (herself only an instrument of the Jesuits), now perpetrated his crowning act of infamy. He revoked the Edict of Nantes, which (1598) the great and good Henry IV. had decreed more than eighty years previously, and by which the Protestants of France during that period had enjoyed liberty of conscience and peace. At the same time, Louis forbade the Protestants to emigrate, and began a system of terror and outrageous brutality to coerce them back again into the Roman Church.

Dragonades.

Regiments of dragoons, ruffians of the worst sort, were sent into the Protestant districts and permanently quartered upon the helpless families. These miscreants, reveling in their mission, robbed, insulted, and oppressed without restraint. The more infamous the outrages, the more pleasing to Louis and the Jesuits. These atrocities lasted several years, and are

known as the Dragonades. Notwithstanding the prohibition to emigrate, half a million managed to escape, and sought shelter where they best could find it.

Here was the opportunity which the Elector had desired. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes endangered Protestantism in Europe all the more, as, at the same time, the cruel and bigoted Catholic, James II., mounted the throne of England. In less than a month after its revocation appeared the celebrated Edict of Potsdam, which it is declared procured the Elector as much glory throughout Protestant Europe as the victory of Fehrbellin. The Edict promised protection and assistance to the Protestants thus driven out of France, inviting them to Brandenburg. By it the Elector placed himself once more at the head of the enemies of Louis, of Protestantism, of Germany, and of liberty. Louis was furious, but his remonstrances were haughtily rejected. "*We and other Evangelical powers*," said the Elector, "*can not answer to the Almighty if we stand by with folded arms and permit this intended annihilation of the Gospel.*" He had been already too long standing by with folded arms. Between fifteen and twenty thousand refugees crowded into Brandenburg. They were generously received and assisted in establishing themselves. Louis drove out the best element of national prosperity and aided in preparing the way for the ruin of France. The Edict of Potsdam increased the population and strengthened the Christian element of Prussia. The French colonists brought many new trades and various improvements to the old ones. They particularly excelled in horticulture, and the traveler of our day, in the beautiful parks and gardens, the graceful groves and stately avenues of Ber-

Edict of Potsdam, Nov. 8, 1685.

lin and Potsdam, sees a revelation not only of the art, but of the gratitude of the French refugees.

Reconciliation between the Great Elector and the Empire, 1686.

The Elector now sought a reconciliation with Leopold, and really practiced the precept, "If any man take away thy coat, give him thy cloak also." He pursued no further his claim to the Silesian duchies, and accepted what he knew to be a very insufficient indemnification, the Schwiebus district, a small territory adjoining Brandenburg. Leopold was yet threatened by the insurgents of Hungary as well as by the Turks. The Elector sent him a body of eight thousand Brandenburger troops, who distinguished themselves by their courage and discipline, and rendered great services.

Third Robber-war of Louis, 1688-1697, called War of the Palatinate.

Louis now planned a new robber-war against Germany. The public opinion of Europe, including the people of England and Sweden, brought about a coalition against him consisting of the Empire, the Elector of Brandenburg with twenty thousand troops, Holland, Spain, Savoy, etc. The English nation were partly driven to the revolution of 1688 by the attempt of the bigoted James II. to join Louis in this war. William III. of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland, nephew of the Elector, was about to be called to the English throne as William III. That already weakened the relation which, through the House of Stuart, bound England to France. Louis was to commence the war by attacking Holland. At the request of Leopold, the Elector with his own hand drew a plan of the campaign, marking out a straight line for the Imperialist and Brandenburg army to the gates of Paris. All the Brandenburg troops were silently concentrated in the Cleve lands. The hero of Fehrbellin prepared to cross

swords with his greatest and most insolent enemy. Europe looked on with the deepest interest.

Death of the Great Elector, May 9, 1688.

At this moment the Elector died, sixty-eight years of age. During the last two years, his heavy labors of mind and body had gradually broken him down. On the 7th of May, 1688, he assembled for the last time his council in his palace at Potsdam. They stood around the bed of the dying sovereign. He spoke of the state of the country at the period of his accession, and expressed his satisfaction in being able to surrender it to a successor, a well-governed, united, prosperous land. He fulfilled his duties as sovereign to the last. On the seventh of May, he gave to his guards as the parole, the word "Amsterdam"; on the eighth, "London"; on the ninth, having taken leave of his family, and after a painful struggle, in the full, calm possession of his intellect, he uttered the words, "*I know that my Redeemer liveth*"; and with this *parole*, he passed the gates of death. Had he lived, there stretched before him, as far as human reason could see, a grand perspective of honor and glory; a broad field for the exercise of his military genius, and a golden opportunity to repair the wrong which he had committed against his country. His sudden death, with such a prospect before him, recalls that of Moses: "But the Lord said unto Moses: *This is the land. I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes. But thou shalt not go over thither.*"

Thoughts on the Great Elector.

The title of "Great" was bestowed upon the Elector by the common consent of Europe, in acknowledgment of the genius by which he had surmounted extraordinary difficulties, and the lofty aims he had pursued only by fair means. He raised his land from chaos to order, from poverty to

prosperity, from weakness to power. He labored not only for his own land, but for Germany, liberty, and religion. He sacrificed himself to secure the independence and integrity of the Empire which insulted, betrayed, and rejected him. Yet in her hour of need, he at last suppressed his resentment and drew his sword again in her defense. He was great as a diplomate, a soldier, statesman, and sovereign. He was, moreover, an honest, moral, private man, and a sincere Christian. The title Great was bestowed upon him, not only for what he was, but for what he was not. In that dark period of corruption, he stands almost alone as an example of wisdom and virtue. He was one of the few really noble characters of his period; faithful to his allies, devoted to his people, free from Jesuitical policy and military ferocity.

Compare him with Charles V., Ferdinand II., Leopold I., Tilly, Pappenheim, Wallenstein, Charles II. of England, Philip II. of Spain, the Granvelles and Alba; with the German College of Electors, with Bishop Igon von Fürstemberg, with Lobkowitz, Auersperg, and the other German princes. Compare him with Louis XIV., with his Reunion Chambers, mistresses, dragonades, debts, his heartless extravagance, and ruinous wars. And remark that, while Louis was undermining the old French Monarchy, the Great Elector, by patient continuance in well-doing, was laying the foundation of the modern German Empire. He was of a stately, imposing appearance, with a Roman nose and eyes full of expression, of a very high temper, which under great excitement flashed from him, as in his mode of suppressing the Kalkstein conspiracy and in his alliance with Louis XIV., but which was more and more regulated by his Christian faith. His first wife, Louisa Henrietta, bore him several sons. By his second, he had

seven children, including four sons. His latter years were clouded by family dissensions. His eldest son charged his step-mother with intriguing to procure the succession for one of her own sons, even with an attempt to poison the rightful heir. This charge rests on no proof; but the testament of the Great Elector, drawn up under her influence, would, if executed, have been injurious to the electorate and to the Hohenzollern family. A compromise of the Brandenburg princes saved the dynasty from the threatened danger. This circumstance gave rise to an erroneous impression that the Elector had actually partitioned his territory into four parts, each to be a separate, independent principality. The Prussians look upon the Great Elector as the founder of their present greatness, and acknowledge that the stately tree, under whose branches they live, was planted by his hand.

Thoughts on the Seizure of Strassburg, 1681.

At the close of the first chapter of this work, we have mentioned the division of Charlemagne's Empire among the three surviving grandsons. Louis the German received all the territory east of the Rhine; also, the towns Mayence, Worms, and Speier on the left bank; with the title, King of Germany. Louis the German made no claim to the title of Emperor. The two younger brothers bestowed that title upon Lothair (or Lothar) as the eldest. He was called Emperor of Italy and Burgundy, or Roman Emperor. The title had lost much of its meaning, and did not remain long with him. On the death of Lothair, the territory over which he had ruled was divided. And here an apparently insignificant event took place. Lothair's second son, named after his father Lothair II., received a duchy called by his name, *Lothairingen;* from which the present German word *Lothringen*,

and the French *Lorraine*. This territory from that time has been, and still is, an apple of discord between France and Germany. We have seen how it was taken by Louis XIV., and we shall see how it came back again. It was originally bounded by the Rhone and the Saône, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the Rhine. During several centuries after the Saxon kings and Emperors, Lorraine, in fact the whole left Rhine bank, formed part of the German Empire. It was subsequently broken up into various secular and ecclesiastical principalities, has often changed masters, and at this moment threatens to bring on a European war.

CHAPTER XI.

GROWTH OF PRUSSIA.

CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF LEOPOLD I.—FREDERIC I., ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG, AND AFTERWARD KING OF THE PRUSSIANS—WAR OF THE PALATINATE—WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION—EMPEROR CHARLES VI.—FREDERIC WILLIAM I., KING—THE BLUE BOYS—KING'S TREATMENT OF HIS SON, FREDERIC THE GREAT, WHILE CROWN PRINCE—THOUGHTS ON FREDERIC WILLIAM I.

LEOPOLD I. has already incidentally appeared in our sketch of the Great Elector. We here give a summary of his reign, omitting events already related. He had been elected, very young, King of Hungary and King of Bohemia, then Emperor of Germany, the last, eighteen years after the accession of the Great Elector, and just as that prince was obtaining the sovereignty over the Duchy of Prussia in his two wars with Poland and Sweden. We have seen the weak, not to say dishonorable, rôle with regard to Brandenburg which Leopold played in the first two robber-wars of Louis XIV.

Leopold I., Emperor of Germany, 1657-1705.

During his reign of forty-eight years, the existence of the Empire was threatened by three Turkish invasions.

At St. Gothardt, in Hungary, the Turks were defeated in a great battle by Leopold's field-marshal, Montecuculi. A subsequent Turkish invasion and the saving of Vienna by the Polish king, John Sobiesky, and others, have already been mentioned.

Battle of St. Gothardt on the Raab, 1664.

Acquisition of the Hereditary right to the throne of Hungary by the House of Austria, 1697.

The long insurrection in Hungary was finally suppressed; the leaders beheaded or banished, and the hereditary right to the throne of Hungary acquired by the House of Austria.

The Turks once more invaded Hungary and were disastrously defeated by Prince Eugene at Zenta, on the Theiss. This was the greatest battle against these formidable foes fought by Germany in the seventeeth century. The Sultan Mustapha, from the opposite bank of the river, beheld the destruction of his army and joined the fugitives in their flight. The Turks left twenty thousand dead and wounded on the field, besides ten thousand drowned in the Theiss, and an immense booty. It is said Prince Eugene, just as the battle was commencing, received a dispatch from the Emperor, which, suspecting its contents and waiting "a more convenient season," he thrust into his pocket without breaking the seal. The dispatch was an order to avoid the battle.

Battle of Zenta, 1697.

Peace of Carlowitz, 1699.

The war was closed with the Peace of Carlowitz, which strengthened and extended the dominions of Austria on the East, and left Leopold at leisure, after having conquered the Turks, to undertake the war of the Spanish succession against the Christians.

Frederic I., King of the Prussians, 1688-1713.

We now go back seventeen years to the accession of the eldest son of the Great Elector, who reigned thirteen years as Frederic III., Elector of Brandenburg, and thirteen years subsequently as King of the Prussians. The war of the Palatinate, already commenced during the reign of his predecessor, was now continued. It was the third robber-

war of Louis XIV., and was undertaken on the pretext that the Palatinate had devolved upon him by inheritance. He, moreover, desired to revenge himself upon the Germans for having refused to receive one of his bribed bishops into the College of Electors. Another object was the withdrawal of the German troops from Hungary, that the eastern frontier of the German Empire might be more exposed to the Turks. A writer gives another cause (an ironical expression of public opinion); Louis having been beside himself with rage at the unsymmetrical form of a window just built at Versailles, Louvois got up the war to divert his master's attention, as one gives a rattle to a crying baby. The war was opened with a brutality characteristic both of king and minister. In order to render it impossible for the enemy to invade France from the Palatinate, it was determined to reduce that principality to a desert, and a savage general, Melac (a sort of French Tilly), was sent to execute the operation. His hordes were accordingly let loose upon the beautiful blooming land just recovering from the wounds of the Thirty Years' War. Villas, vineyards, corn-fields, villages were destroyed; bridges blown up; Heidelberg set on fire and partially burned; eleven towns in ruins, and the people, on the penalty of death, compelled to assist in demolishing their own homes and laying their gardens and corn-fields waste. Among the towns burned and plundered were Mannheim, Worms, and Speyer. Some fortresses were destroyed, others garrisoned with French troops. Melac ordered the magnificent palace of Heidelberg to be blown up. From some cause, his attempt was not completely successful, and the old ruin yet stands, crying *shame* upon the savage Melac. Of Worms, nothing remained but

War of the Palatinate.

the dome.* The inhabitants of Speyer were hunted away like dogs, the town, including the venerable cathedral, plundered, and then burned. The French soldiers dragged the bones of the old emperors out of their graves, and played ball with their skulls. Among these emperors were Henry IV. and V., and Rudolph of Hapsburg. A coalition had been concluded against Louis, but the Empire was divided against itself; the Turks were thundering at the eastern gates, and Louis, Louvois, and Melac executed their atrocious plan with impunity. If Frederic III. of Brandenburg had not interposed with a competent military force, Cologne, perhaps the cathedral, would have been destroyed. It has been declared that the ravaging of the Palatinate was the exclusive work of Louvois, and that he was sharply reprimanded for it by his royal master. Weber says, "The plan was proposed by Louvois, and accepted by Louis, and it is quite in harmony with the character of the king." The stupid and wicked war dragged on for nine years, and was closed by the Peace of Ryswick. In this peace, Louis restored to the Empire all the territories which he had seized by the Reunion Chambers. The people again punned upon the word Ryswick (*Reissweg*—tear away). Louis, however, did not allow Elsass or Strassburg to be torn away. The other belligerent parties gave up all conquered territories, each thus receiving back what it had lost. William III., Prince of Orange, was recognized King of England.† The

Peace of Ryswick, 1697.

* The building, with the hall in which Luther appeared at the diet of 1521 before the Emperor and the German princes, was burned to the ground. On the spot now stands a church.

† *William III., Stadtholder of Holland*, and afterward King of England, had married (1677) Mary, eldest daughter of James, Duke of York, heir presumptive to the British throne. When the cruel and bigoted James II. had alienated the

French claim to the Palatinate was abandoned under the transparent veil of an arbitration. Everybody was sick of a war equally infamous and ruinous. The consequences of frightening out of France half a million Protestants, of the costly wars and *fetês*, the extravagant architecture, and the unbounded, expensive luxury began to appear. Trade and commerce were breaking down. The once overflowing treasury which had kept kings, cabinet ministers, and bishops in Louis' service, showed signs of depletion. These were not the only reasons for accepting a peace so little honorable. Louis had long been engaged in the basest intrigues to acquire the Spanish monarchy. He wished to annihilate the inconvenient Pyrenees which separated Spain from France, and abandoned minor points that he might be the better prepared for the great war of the Spanish succession.

Why France terminated the war without enforcing her demands.

At this moment, just as the war of the Palatinate was concluded, and that of the Spanish succession was breaking out, the Elector, Frederic III. of Brandenburg, assumed the title of King of the Prussians. It is not probable that he could at any other moment have so easily succeeded in his design. The Emperor wanted his assistance in the new war, and Louis found that war too heavy a burden for him to think of undertaking another. In order to obtain Leopold's consent to his coronation, Frederic had agreed to restore to the Emperor the Schwiebus territory, and to contribute ten thousand troops to the war. Thus standing on the solid foundations laid by the Great Elector, Frederic

The Elector of Brandenburg assumes the title of King of the Prussians, 1701-1713.

whole British nation, William received an invitation to enter England as a Protestant king, signed by the most influential English nobles (1701).

transformed the Electorate of Brandenburg into the Kingdom of Prussia, and became an independent sovereign as Frederic I. The new king, with extraordinary splendor, made his entry into Berlin, which he adorned with many elegant buildings and monuments, among others the bronze equestrian statue of the Great Elector, still one of the principal ornaments of the city. He maintained Protestantism, founded institutions of learning and art, was just as a sovereign and moral in private life, but his reign was marked by reckless extravagance, pomp, and display, in which, like many sovereigns of that time, he followed the example of Louis XIV. This was a heavy drain upon the treasury, still further exhausted by the military force he had stipulated to maintain in the service of the Emperor. The result was heavy taxation, growing abuses, corrupt officials, and general discontent. The people began to turn their eyes from the dazzling crown, and looked back with regret to the plain old felt hat and massive iron helmet of the Great Elector.

Neufchâtel comes to Prussia, 1707.

During this reign, the Swiss Canton of Neufchâtel came under the dominion of Prussia. Mary, Duchess of Nemours, sovereign of the Canton, dying without issue, fifteen pretenders appeared in the field, among them Frederic. The conflicting claims were decided by the Neufchâtel estates in favor of Frederic as the heir of the House of Orange.

War of the Spanish Succession, 1701–1714.

By the death without issue (1700) of Charles II., King of Spain, the Spanish House of Hapsburg became extinct. Who was to inherit the Spanish monarchy with its colonies? The Spanish king had named as his heir, the second son of the Emperor Leopold, the Archduke Charles. But the dying king was the center of European intrigues, and

several times changed his plan. Once he appointed the Elector of Bavaria his heir. Not to weary the reader with details, the intrigues of Louis at the bedside of the king were finally successful. The queen was carefully kept away from her dying husband. The father confessor was in the interest of Louis, and the king, in his last moments, scarcely conscious, was induced to sign a will bestowing the throne upon Louis' second grandson, Philip of Anjou. Louis knew he was lighting the flames of a European war, but believing his army superior to that of his enemies, he made preparations to seize the Spanish throne in favor of Philip. In this transaction, he had deceived and betrayed the Emperor Leopold, who also prepared for war; not as German Emperor, but as head of the powerful Hapsburg house already, amid all this crash and tumult, rising to the proportions of a new separate empire. The European governments, particularly the maritime powers, England and Holland, were equally afraid of France and Austria, but Louis' ambition and treachery had become so apparent that, in order to maintain the balance of power, both England and Holland formed an alliance with Austria. But would not Leopold, should he obtain the Spanish throne, be as dangerous as Louis to the balance of power? To meet this objection, Leopold did not claim the Spanish throne, either for himself or for his eldest son and heir (subsequently Emperor Joseph I.), but for his second son, already mentioned, Charles, father of Maria Theresa (subsequently Emperor as Charles VI.). Louis thus entered into the war with only two allies, the Elector of Bavaria and the Elector of Cologne. Leopold, representing Austria, formed an alliance with the Empire, England, Holland, Prussia, Portugal, and at last Savoy. England fought,

not only to maintain the balance of power in Europe, but to punish Louis for supporting the claims of the pretender, James II., and his descendants, to the British throne.* The war raged twelve years. Two great generals fought on the side of Austria, Prince Eugene and the English Duke of Marlborough. The battle-field was Germany, Holland, Italy, and at last France. Among the celebrated battles were Hochstadt, or Blenheim, in Bavaria (1704), where Prince Eugene and Marlborough, by a decisive victory, drove the French out of Bavaria; Ramillies (Belgium), where the French were beaten by Marlborough; the great battle of Turin, gained by aid of the Prussian troops, the Prince of Dessau, commander. The French were driven out of Italy. Oudenarde (Belgium, 1708), Malplaquet (on French territory); here Marlborough and Eugene thoroughly beat the French again. The high-reaching, glory-loving Louis was now on his knees begging Europe for peace. So low was he sunk that he had agreed to contribute a military force to the German army for the purpose of driving Philip out of Spain. The defeat of the plan to raise Philip to the Spanish throne, and even the destruction of Louis himself, seemed certain, when two of those events took place which so often suddenly change the aspect of a war.

Death of Leopold I., 1705.

Leopold died, just after the great victory of Blenheim had driven the French out of Bavaria, and given the first blow to the power of the French king. In his private life, Leopold was irreproachable; but his character was weak and fickle, and a Jesuitical education had blunted his percep-

* James II. died 1701, just as the war broke out, but left his candidature to his son, James Francis Edward Stuart, called the Chevalier of St. George.

tion of the difference between right and wrong, accustomed him to be led by others, and unfitted him for the performance of his duties as sovereign.

Joseph I., Emperor of Germany, 1705-1711.

Leopold was followed by his son, Joseph I., mild, tolerant, free from the bigotry of his predecessors; keeping clear of the Jesuits, favoring the Protestants, and ameliorating the condition of the peasants. He had the pleasure to behold the signal victories of his armies over the insolent enemy. He died after a short reign, and his death, in connection with that of his father, saved Louis and lost the Spanish throne to the Hapsburgs.

Charles VI., 1711-1740.

He was followed by his brother, Charles VI., in whose favor the War of the Spanish Succession had been undertaken. By the death of Leopold and Joseph, Charles had become possessor of all the Austrian lands. He had, moreover, been elected Emperor of Germany. Had he, in addition, obtained the Spanish throne, the whole empire of Charles V. would have been revived in his person, and the balance of power, for which the allies were fighting, would then be more endangered than by the elevation of the now humbled Louis. In attempting to avoid Scylla, Europe had almost fallen into Charybdis. This saved Louis from complete shipwreck. He was defeated and ruined, yet Philip was permitted to retain the Spanish throne. During this war, England took, and still retains, the fortress of Gibraltar.

Peace of Utrecht, 1713.

The Peace of Utrecht secured a Protestant succession to the throne of England; kept the Pyrenees upon their ancient foundations, by definitively separating France from Spain; took from France, and gave to England, Newfoundland,

Nova Scotia, and Hudson Bay; recognized Frederic I. as King of the Prussians with Neufchâtel; and placed Philip V. upon the throne of Spain. The Emperor, Charles VI., as representative of the House of Austria, received the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sardinia.

Last period of Louis XIV. till his death, 1715.

Louis had suffered a just punishment. His armies had been destroyed, his territory invaded, his treasury emptied, his resources exhausted, his power broken, his country ruined, his pride humbled. The misery he had inflicted upon his own subjects, and upon Europe, who can estimate? The distress in France was increased by a famine and the severest winter ever known in Europe. Louis died, seventy-seven years of age, one year after the Peace of Utrecht, twenty-seven years after the Great Elector. He had reigned fifty-four years.

Louis XV., 1715-1774.

Louis was followed by his great-grandson, Louis XV. These two sovereigns were permitted to afflict Europe more than a century. They brought their country to the revolution. Louis XV. occupied the French throne during the principal part of the reign of Charles VI., as German Emperor; of Frederic William I., King of the Prussians, and of Frederic the Great. He reigned fifty-nine years. His grandfather and father had both died before Louis XIV. During his minority, France was eight years governed by the notorious, infamous Philip of Orleans, as Regent, on whose death the young king commenced his long and portentous reign. Under Louis XV., France fell into the lowest vice and debauchery; weakness and disgrace in foreign affairs; blasphemy, corruption, and total shipwreck at home. His profligacy was a bye-word among the people. Upon his bronze equestrian statue, erected

before the Tuileries, the pedestal of which was adorned with figures of the Virtues, an unknown hand inscribed the following lines:

Grotesque monument!
Infame piedestal!
Les Vertus a pied!
Le Vice a cheval!*

The vilest women ruled France, if not Europe; dispensed the public treasures; made wars; decided treaties of peace; and placed contemptible favorites in power. The government was, in fact, used by the king's mistresses, Pompadour, Du Barry, etc., as an instrument by which to enrich themselves and friends. France was at last thoroughly beaten by Frederic the Great, till, overwhelmed with debt, all her colonies lost, her treasury empty, her armies degraded and laughed at, the king, wallowing in the debauchery of an oriental despot, the court a seraglio, the people starving, the proud old French monarchy, which had so long trampled upon the rights and consciences of men, swept over the brink of that frightful abyss called the French Revolution.

Before entering upon the period of the French Revolution, we must glance at the Empire under the last seven sovereigns, including Maria Theresa; the two wars, called the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War of Frederic the Great, beside his first two Silesian wars. These lie twisted together, like a heap of different colored skeins of silk, in such a way that they will not be intelligible unless disentangled and laid out in separate parallel lines. We shall therefore

* Grotesque monument!
Infamous pedestal!
The Virtues on foot!
Vice on horseback!

give, beside sketches of the remaining German Emperors and of the Prussian kings, a Synchronistic Table (No. 2, at the end of Volume II.), presenting the chief contemporaneous sovereigns from the close of the Reformation till our day, with such additional details as seem necessary to aid the reader in understanding the confused narrative.

Charles VI. Emperor (continued), 1711-1740.— Pragmatic Sanction.

We have already mentioned the accession of Charles VI., and the influence it exercised upon the War of the Spanish Succession. His death was destined to be followed by still weightier consequences in European affairs. He was the last male heir in a direct line of the Hapsburg imperial family. The War of the Spanish Succession, produced by the extinction of the Hapsburg male line in Spain, had scarcely terminated, when Europe was for ten years desolated by a much greater war, produced by the extinction of the Hapsburg male line in Austria. During his reign of about thirty years, Charles, foreseeing this contingency, principally occupied himself in effecting an arrangement with the other European powers, by which he could settle all his hereditary dominions, as well as the German throne, as far as he was able to dispose of it, upon his oldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, and her descendants. He accordingly issued (1724) a solemn decree, called the Pragmatic Sanction. To this decree, after long negotiations and great sacrifices, he obtained the consent of the principal European powers, particularly that of Prussia. When these arrangements were completed, Charles expressed to his general, Prince Eugene, his satisfaction that the succession of his daughter, Maria Theresa, was secure under the protection of the European powers. The old soldier replied: "That is

good, your Majesty, but two hundred thousand bayonets would be better."

As the whole reign of the Prussian King, Frederic William I., passed during that of Charles VI., we interrupt our sketch of the latter to describe an old-fashioned despot who, in our day of diets and newspapers, has the interest of a paleontological fossil.

Frederic William I., King of the Prussians, 1713–1740.

Frederic I. was followed by his only son, Frederic William I. He married the Princess Sophia Dorothea of Hanover, who became the mother of Frederic the Great, and whom, to the end of their lives, her husband and son regarded with sincere affection. Frederic William I. was a born soldier, judging every person and event only from a military point of view, with a hard, iron heart, which could, nevertheless, sometimes be melted. He was simple, moral after his own fashion, and stern in the performance of his religious duties, as he understood them. He governed his family with a terrible, fierce, and arbitrary despotism. He endeavored to encourage manufacture by a prohibitive tariff, and woe to the culprit who violated the law. If the king heard of bed-curtains of foreign calico, or saw any article of foreign manufacture on the dress of ladies even in the street, he caused the delinquent to be immediately seized, and the article confiscated on the spot. He hated pomp and finery. In his boyhood, having been presented with a little dressing-gown of gold brocade, he looked at it a moment with disgust, and then contemptuously threw it into the fire. At another time, to escape chastisement, he climbed out of a high window and threatened to leap off unless pardoned. On mounting the throne, the courtiers were struck with dismay by his arbitrary changes. The chief

articles of luxury collected during his father's reign were sold or burned. Opera singers, actors, artists, poets, savants, etc., were dismissed, or their salaries cut down. The free-thinking philosopher, Wolf, was astonished by a sudden order to quit the kingdom within twenty-four hours, on the penalty of being hanged. The costly *fêtes* in which the first Prussian King had endeavored to vie with Louis XIV. disappeared, and in their place arose the Royal Smoking Club (Tabaks Collegium), in which the king and his particular friends met to enjoy beer and tobacco, and, it is declared, not very spiritual jests.

The Blue Boys.

The monomania of Frederic William I. for recruiting gigantic soldiers led him into many abominable actions. This guard of tall fellows (Langen Kerls), called also Blue Boys, from the color of their uniform, was recruited by monstrous acts of tyranny. There was no place in Germany, and scarcely in Europe, where a tall man was safe. Travelers were stopped in the post coaches, and fields, villages, and towns explored for peasants and burghers, who were taken by brute force or by cunning devices. The time was when giants were the terror of other men, but under Frederic William their traditional relative position was reversed. Instead of the bullies of mankind, they had become the victims. A gentleman entered into the shop of a master-joiner, who was six feet three inches in height, and ordered a cupboard six and a half feet high. It was to be higher than the joiner himself. The stranger returned at the appointed time with several servants to take away the cupboard, but declared it was not as high as the joiner. "I can easily convince you," said the man, and stepped into it, when the stranger caused the door to be suddenly closed and fastened, and the cup-

board carried away for the Blue Guard of Potsdam. On opening the cupboard, the joiner was dead from rage, perhaps suffocation. The stranger, a scoundrel named Baron Hombesch, was tried for murder and condemned to death, but his punishment was commuted by the king. It is declared that the king's general, the Prince of Dessau, anxious to please his Majesty, perpetrated an equally great crime upon a young student of the University. By the Treaty of Wusterhausen (1726), the Emperor, Charles VI., conceded to Frederic William the right to recruit giants in the Imperial Hereditary States. The Russian Emperor, Peter, and his two successors, used occasionally to send a present of giants for the guard. The king reciprocated the courtesy, and caused a number of Prussian sword-cutlers to be transported to his Russian Majesty. That was the way things went in those times! Frederic William used every effort to conciliate his Blue Boys. They received a high bounty and excellent pay, and were treated with the greatest kindness and familiarity, the officers as his friends, the soldiers as his children; notwithstanding which, on field-days, a bullet now and then whizzed by the king's head. A serious plot was occasionally discovered, and suppressed with military severity. The Christian advisers did not fail to admonish the king, citing the Mosaic law: "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall be surely put to death." But there were at that time, as in our day, philosophers more enlightened than other people, who showed that God had expressly countenanced the kidnapping of tall men for the Blue Guards. "He will take your men-servants and your maid-servants, and your goodliest young men, and put them to his work." Again: "When Saul saw

any strong man and valiant man, he took him unto him."

The King's Treatment of his son Frederic (the Great) while Crown Prince.

A quarrel between the Crown Prince and his father nearly terminated the life of the former. The prince early manifested tendencies exactly opposite those of his father. He was genial, humorous, an admirer of art and science, a lover of music and gay society, extravagant, dissipated, addicted to gold brocade, dressing-gowns, and French poetry, and despising Christianity as an old woman's nursery tale. This brought from the father open displeasure and arbitrary punishment, which only made the son worse. The disobedience of the prince inflamed the resentment of the father almost to madness. It is not easy to say which was most wrong. The prince may be somewhat excused by the fact that his two most intimate friends, Katt and Keith, were licentious, profligate freethinkers. "In the company of Katt," writes the Margravine of Baireuth, Frederic's favorite sister, "my brother lost all his Christian faith, and allowed himself to be led away into the most licentious debauchery." Katt taught a philosophy which has been demonstrated to be the true system by several modern metaphysicians, namely, that "if a man be predestined to sin, he can not help sinning, and that is the end of it." He is no more to be blamed than the wind for blowing. The pious old father was not sufficiently advanced in certain branches of science to see the truth of this. The consequence was a disgust on the part of the prince, and an ever-increasing severity on the part of the king. The prince was very handsome, with large brilliant blue eyes, not then so stern as they became during the Seven Years' War. He had an abundance of rich brown hair, which, floating around his face, completed

its beauty. The king, perceiving Frederic's appreciation of these advantages, sent the court barber, Sternmann (stern man, indeed), with orders to cut off his son's locks, and to tie the hair in the regulation pig-tail. The barber (not so stern as his name indicated), melted by the despair of the prince, with the genius of a true diplomatist, executed his delicate mission so as to satisfy both parties. Instead of cutting off the locks, he contrived to conceal them under the powder. The king at last demanded that Frederic should renounce the crown, as he intended to transfer it to his next son. The youth answered, he would do so if the king would publicly declare he was not his father; which the old gentleman, of course, refused to do. Things went on from bad to worse. The king repeatedly flogged the prince with his cane, striking him on his head till the blood flowed. On one of these occasions the young man exclaimed, "*Jamais visage de Brandenburg n'a souffert un affront pareil.*" (*Never before did a Brandenburg suffer so great an insult.*)

Frederic made several attempts to escape. After one of these, the following dialogue took place between the king and the prince.

"What reason have you to desert?"

"You treat me, not as a son, but as a vile slave."

"You are a cowardly deserter, without a feeling of honor."

"I possess as much feeling of honor as you, sir."

Upon this, the king drew his sword and would have run the prince through the body; but General Conrad Henry von der Mosel threw himself between the king and the prince, with the words: "O sire, stab me, but spare your son!" The king listened, and the great Frederic was saved.

This was the second time the father had endeavored to kill the prince.

The last attempt of the desperate young man to escape was betrayed by an intercepted letter of Frederic to his friend, Katt. The king with his party were at Anspach, Bavaria, near Nuremberg, on a trip to the Rhine. The letter contained the following sentences: "In two days I shall be free. I have money, clothes, horses. Follow me to Holland with the things I have intrusted to you."

The prince directed this letter: "*Lieutenant von Katt, via Nuremberg*," but forgot to add the word, "*Berlin*." The Nuremberg postmaster sent the letter to the wrong person, another Prussian officer of nearly the same name, *Katte*, stationed at the neighboring town, Erlangen. This officer forwarded the letter to the king. The rage of the father increased to that of a maniac. He determined to have the life of his son. His daughter (the Margravine of Baireuth), who attempted to palliate the offense of her brother, was answered by blows of the fist in her face. The prince was formally expelled the Prussian army, conveyed to the fortress of Custrin, and tried by a court-martial, consisting of eighteen officers and civilians. It is not creditable to these gentlemen that they nearly all voted for death. Two alone, Dönhoff and Schwerin, had the manliness to demand a more lenient punishment. The sentence of Katt was imprisonment for life; but the king overruled it, and commanded him to be executed, and that the execution should take place on a spot where the prince could behold it from the window of his prison. Frederic opened the window and called with a loud voice: "Pardon me, my dear Katt." Katt replied: "It is sweet to die for so kind a prince." He died calmly by the ax. On beholding his head fall, Frederic fainted.

At the request of the Emperor, Charles VI., the prince was pardoned, and at last entirely restored to his father's favor. The old gentleman, however, as a condition, compelled him to marry (1733) the Princess of Brunswyck Bevern, whom he did not love, and from whom he lived separately all his life.

Frederic William I. died May, 1740.* We select two from many anecdotes. He had refused to let his son study Latin. One day he found the preceptor assisting his pupil in reading the "Golden Bull." "What are you about?" cried the king. The trembling preceptor replied: "I was merely reading the 'Golden Bull' with his Royal Highness, your Majesty." "'Golden Bull,'" cried the king, "I'll 'Golden Bull' you;" and up went the old cane.

Thoughts on Frederic William I.

A valet having been one evening called to read prayers to him, instead of the words "The Lord bless thee!" said: "The Lord bless your Majesty." The king interrupted him: "You rascal! Read as it is in the book. Before God, I am just such a poor scoundrel as you are."

Notwithstanding his brutal manners, the incredible tyranny in his family, the abominations perpetrated upon his subjects, as a monarch he manifested forethought, sagacity, patriotism, and philanthropy. He lightened the taxes; he cordially welcomed emigrants of merit, and knew how to use them for the real welfare of his people. Twenty thousand Evangelical Protestants, driven from Salzburg by the bigoted Archbishop Firmian (1732), and stripped by him

Twenty thousand Protestants Protected.

* The following table may assist the reader: George William, father of the Great Elector, died 1640. Frederic William I., father of Frederic the Great, died 1740. Frederic William III., father of the present Emperor, died 1840.

of all their property (more than two million thalers), were received by the king into his dominions and generously assisted with land or money. He joined Saxony, Russia, and Denmark in a war against Charles VII. of Sweden, and by the Peace of Stockholm (1720) added Fore-Pomerania, Stettin, and the islands of Usedom and Wollin to the Prussian territory. He left a well-disciplined army of eighty thousand men, nine million thalers in the treasury, and a yearly income of seven and a half million thalers. He exercised a favorable influence upon the character of his people. He taught them subordination, economy, a real sense of duty, and the value of honest labor.

Fore-Pomerania conquered from Sweden, 1720.

CHAPTER XII.

FREDERIC THE GREAT.

MARIA THERESA—FIRST SILESIAN WAR—SECOND SILESIAN WAR—WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION—SEVEN YEARS' WAR—A FEW THOUGHTS ON THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—DEATH OF FREDERIC THE GREAT.

THE accession of Frederic II. to the Prussian throne; the death almost immediately afterward of the Emperor, Charles VI., by which the male Hapsburg line in Austria was extinguished; and the consequent accession of Maria Theresa to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, and, in virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, to the throne of the German Empire, were very important events. The Pragmatic Sanction had been accepted by most of the European powers, including Prussia, the Empire and the estates of Austria. Nearly all had received compensation, and the claim of Maria Theresa was considered to be so clearly settled that it would probably not have been questioned but for Frederic. Pretenders were not wanting to the Austrian succession; but if not too honest, they were too feeble or timid to dispute the Pragmatic Sanction. Europe was at that time in a peculiarly dangerous position. Frederic, by suddenly commencing his First Silesian War, kindled the War of the Austrian Succession and the other wars which followed.

Death of Charles VI., 1740.

He was twenty-eight years old when he mounted the

throne. He had led an immoral life, and rejected Christianity; but he had superior natural qualities. His first step was to abolish torture. The judges cried out against this innovation, reasoning with all the acuteness which distinguishes logicians, ancient and modern, who devote their lives to the defense of the wrong. "Torture was an indispensable necessity in a court of justice. Without it, truth could not be elicited from witnesses. The abolition of it would cause all the thieves and murderers of the world to flock into Prussia," etc.

Frederic II. (the Great), King of the Prussians, 1740-1786.

Frederic William I., King of Prussia, had died in May; and the Emperor, Charles VI., in the next following October. Frederic was in bed with a fever when the news of the latter event reached him. He immediately called his ministers to consult as to the best way of rapidly and secretly throwing a military force into Silesia for the purpose of wresting that province from the young Empress. The plan seems to have been discussed with the ministers before the death of Charles. The minister, Podevil, had pointed out to the youthful monarch the perilous state of the Austrian Empire, and the minister, Von Rochow, reminded him that the Great Elector had at one time formed a design to seize Silesia by force. Frederic, moreover, excused himself for the war by the fact that Silesia was a *male fief*, and could not be legally inherited by a female. At this time he wrote to Voltaire: "The stone is loosened which will smite the image of Nebuchadnezzar." The image of Nebuchadnezzar was probably Austria; the stone, Frederic himself!

When the preparations were completed, he sent a message to Maria Theresa, offering, if she would cede Silesia, to defend her against all enemies. This was, of course,

FREDERIC II.,

"The Great."

rejected. Scarcely waiting the answer, in less than two months after the death of Charles, and without any declaration of war, he occupied Silesia by Prussian troops. After dancing with many ladies at a court ball in Berlin on the evening of the 13th, he left for the scene of war in the middle of the night, entered Breslau without opposition, and there danced with many ladies of the Silesian nobility at a ball on the evening of the 15th. His personal attractions at this time were great. His voice is described as soft and sweet. "His lips moved with inexpressible grace, and his eyes, sometimes so stern that he once by a glance made a Hungarian soldier lower the musket raised to kill him, when he spoke to a lady or heard a trait of humanity, became gentle and mild, with an expression which no painter could render." At this time he wrote his friend Jordan a letter, which strangely contrasts with our idea of that stern wrinkled warrior, "Old Fritz":

First Silesian War, 1740-1742.

"My Dear Jordan:

"My sweet, my gentle, my good, my mild, my most affable Jordan, I tell your merriness, that Silesia is as good as conquered."

During the subsequent long and terrible struggles, he must often have looked back upon this letter with astonishment; all this dancing and merriment were the beginning of many sorrows for himself, his country, and Europe. The Silesian War was thus commenced with incredible frivolity, and notwithstanding the encouragement of some counselors, yet against the advice of others, particularly the old Prince of Dessau; yet it was favored by several circumstances. The Protestant inhabitants of Silesia were disgusted with Austria. The whole population was trampled upon by petty tyrants.

Battle of Mollwitz, April 10, 1741.

The first battle took place at Mollwitz, a village near Breslau. Frederic commanded his cavalry in person. The Austrian cavalry charged in the Turkish manner. Bullets whizzed, men reeled from their saddles, cannon vollied and thundered. The Prussian horse fell back, and at last broke into flight. Frederic rode off with them, supposing the Austrians victorious, and took refuge in a mill several miles distant. Here he learned that the battle had been a victory. The Austrians had fled before Schwerin and Winterfeld, leaving eight thousand men upon the field. Frederic's flight drew from Voltaire the well-known sarcasm, "The king left the battle-field covered with glory, and with—flour!"

Battle of Chotusitz, May 17, 1742.

About thirteen months afterward, the Austrians were again defeated at Chotusitz, principally by a skillful movement of Frederic himself. He here entered with such cool daring into the battle as fully to establish his reputation for personal courage. This victory is important, as having forced Maria Theresa to a peace with Prussia in order to have her hands free for the rest of her enemies.

Peace of Breslau, June 11, 1742.

The war had lasted little more than two years, when a Treaty of Peace, signed at Breslau, ceded to Frederic nearly all Silesia. In this peace he abandoned the allies, who, as will be hereafter related, had joined him because he had broken through the Pragmatic Sanction. The day after the peace was signed, Frederic entered Berlin with all the glory of a successful soldier, and amid the unbounded acclamations of the people, who thought little of consequences.

After the battle of Mollwitz, Prussia had formed an

alliance with France. The result shows the fidelity sometimes practiced toward each other by the members of a coalition. At the battle of Chotusitz the Austrian general, Poland, was severely wounded and made prisoner. Frederic paid him a visit, and was informed by Poland that Louis XV. was betraying him. Frederic would not believe without proof. A courier, sent to Vienna by Poland, returned on the sixth day with a private dispatch from Louis' prime minister, Fleury, to Maria Theresa, offering "to guarantee all her dominions, and that the united armies of France, Austria, and Bavaria should be turned against Prussia, on condition that Maria Theresa would yield the Kingdom of Bohemia to her rival, Charles Albert." Frederic therefore suddenly concluded the Peace of Breslau without the consent, or even knowledge, of France. On learning the peace, the French minister at Berlin sought an interview with the king, and expressed with dignity the painful surprise of his royal master at the wrong thus practiced against him. Frederic, fixing his eyes steadily upon him, handed the dispatch of Fleury. The diplomate read, bowed, and retired.

Alliance of Prussia with France.

Frederic knew the Peace of Breslau could be only an armistice. Maria Theresa, at that time, had nearly all Europe against her, and to carry on, in addition, a separate war with Frederic, had been too much for her. But as the scales of the Austrian Succession War inclined in her favor, Frederic perceived she would soon endeavor to retake Silesia. She had formed alliances with Great Britain, Holland, Sardinia, and Saxony. Frederic concluded a new alliance with France for twelve years (June 5, 1744—June 5, 1756). Thus strengthened, he

Second Silesian War, Aug. 15, 1744—Dec. 25, 1745.

anticipated the attack of his enemies by breaking into Bohemia with eighty thousand men. At this period, to meet war expenses, he melted down a large portion of his silver plate, massive chandeliers, a balcony (for the musicians, in a ball-room) of solid silver, and other precious articles.

Battle of Prague, 1744.

He now took Prague, but being unsupported by the French troops, was obliged to retire back to Silesia. The war was decided by three great victories of Frederic, at Hohenfriedberg (Silesia); Soor (Bohemia); at Kesselsdorf (Saxony), where Leopold of Dessau beat the Saxon-Austrian army. While Frederic was obtaining these victories in his Second Silesian War, the separate War of the Austrian Succession was raging over the rest of Europe, and Maria Theresa was compelled to close this new war with a second peace.

Peace of Dresden, Dec., 1745.

The Treaty of Dresden guaranteed Silesia to Frederic. Saxony paid him one million thalers for evacuating that country, and Frederic recognized the election which had just taken place of Francis I., husband of Maria Theresa. as Emperor of Germany.

War of the Austrian Succession, 1741-1748.

We now go back to the beginning of the War of the Austrian Succession. When Frederic, by breaking into the territory of Maria Theresa, commenced the First Silesian War, he kindled, as we have said, the War of the Austrian Succession. The victory of Mollwitz was the signal for a general and disgraceful war against the young Empress. Philip V., King of Spain, Charles Emanuel III. of Sardinia, Augustus III. of Saxony, made preparations to seize portions of the Austrian territory, while the Elector, Charles Albert, of Bavaria, who had not recognized the

Pragmatic Sanction, claimed the German Imperial throne. He was supported by Spain and France on the condition that when Emperor he would not demand back again the conquests of France on the Rhine and in Holland, and that Spain might do what she pleased in Italy. France also feared that Maria Theresa might demand Lorraine, the duchy of her husband. Frederic at first urged on all these honest claimants, but by terminating the First Silesian War (Treaty of Breslau), deserted them all. At the commencement of these wars, Maria Theresa was without allies, troops, or money. Her energy and courage rose with the danger. Convoking a Diet at Presburg, where, as Queen of Hungary, she was universally beloved, she appeared in that assembly clothed in the Hungarian costume, in deep mourning, the crown of St. Stephen upon her head, the royal sword at her side, and her newly-born infant son Joseph (afterward Emperor Joseph II.) in her arms. Thus, pale from illness and emotion, and with tears in her eyes, she addressed the Diet in Latin: "Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, I have no resource but in your fidelity and courage, and in my own resolution. I commit unto you the daughter and the son of your kings." Her youth, beauty, noble and commanding figure, spotless character, and the rapacity of her enemies, awakened sympathy and indignation. The magnates started up with enthusiasm, drew their sabers, and cried: "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresia*"* (we will die for our *king*, Maria Theresa). They faithfully redeemed their pledge. All Hungary kindled with enthusiasm. But the war at first went entirely against Maria Theresa, who had to fight Frederic at the same time. A large

* Some critics deny the above cry of the magnates.

portion of her territory was wrested from her. Charles Albert marched into Bohemia, assuming the title of Archduke of Austria and King of Bohemia, and was crowned Emperor at Frankfort as Charles VII. The King of Sardinia claimed Milan; a French army crossed the Rhine and assisted the Bavarians to take Prague. It was now that the Hungarian troops redeemed their pledge. Wherever they came, they struck terror by their savage aspect and fierce manner of fighting. Among them were Slavonians, Croatians, Bohemians, Pandoors (wild Hungarian mountaineers), Hussars (Hungarian cavalry). They were everywhere victorious. The French were not only beaten by the army of the Empress, but died by thousands from cold, fatigue, and hunger. The very day Charles Albert was crowned Emperor at Frankfort, the triumphant Hungarians entered Bavaria. Other events strengthened Maria Theresa; the Peace of Breslau terminating the First Silesian War; and the dissensions and jealousies among the allies. The Emperor, Charles VII., deserted, as we have seen, by Frederic, died (1745) of shame and disappointment, after having promised his vote for Francis, Duke of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, who was the same year elected Emperor as Francis I.

Charles Albert of Bavaria, Emperor as Charles VII., Feb. 12, 1742.

Frederic, who had now firm hold on Silesia, recognized Francis as Emperor. The war was continued, however, by France, Spain, and Poland, etc., in the hope of partitioning Austria, as Austria subsequently partitioned Poland. But England, Holland, and Sardinia stood by Maria Theresa. All parties at last became tired of the war, and a peace congress was called to bring it to an end.

Francis I., Emperor of Germany, 1745–1765.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, among other clauses,

required from all parties the restoration of conquered territories; guaranteed Silesia to Prussia, and the Pragmatic Sanction to Austria. The war, which had inflicted such sufferings upon the people of Europe, had thus failed in its object. It is true, Frederic had kept Silesia; but the penalty of his rashness had yet to be paid in the Seven Years' War. From this time a deeper enmity grew up between Austria and Prussia. Austria had struggled with an inferior rival, and been overcome. She beheld the once despised Brandenburg rising to a higher position, while she herself felt the imperial scepter slipping from her hand.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Oct. 18, 1748. Closing War of Austrian Succession.

A twelve years' peace from the termination of the Second Silesian War now succeeded. These years were, however, not only by Austria and Prussia, but by the other European governments, almost wholly given up to preparations for the inevitable war. What a rash act the First Silesian War was, which brought after it such weighty consequences! We understand how, in view of this great crash, Frederic became such a terrible disciplinarian. It is to his honor, nevertheless, that during these years he turned his attention, also, to the interior affairs of his kingdom, and honestly labored with incessant diligence to increase the happiness of his subjects. At the same time, from his strong individuality, the absence of modern ideas with regard to government, and the example of his father, he presented a most original picture of a good sovereign. A seventh part of the able-bodied men of the country were called into the military service, and continually drilled with iron despotism and sometimes cruel severity. He thus succeeded in raising a great army.

Twelve years' peace, 1745-1756.

Voltaire.

It was during this period of peace that Voltaire lived three years at Potsdam, as the guest of Frederic. The story of their quarrel, equally disgraceful to both, is too long to be here told.

Preparations for war.

As the years advanced, Maria Theresa succeeded not only in maturing a great military system, but in forming very important alliances. The rapid rise of the House of Prussia was regarded with alarm, as well as astonishment, in Vienna and other quarters. Frederic had made many enemies. His keen witticisms rankled in the memory of his powerful and often profligate contemporaries. Kings, empresses, great ladies, royal mistresses, ministers — no one had been spared. Louis XV., the Saxon minister Brühl, Pompadour, Elizabeth, even Maria Theresa (Frederic called these ladies the "*dynasties des Cotillons*"), had felt his ridicule too deeply not to catch at an opportunity of revenge.

Enemies of Frederic — Austria and France.

Austria, the greatest of Frederic's enemies, determined to reconquer Silesia, had succeeded in concluding an alliance with France (May, 1756). This was a blow to Frederic. His twelve years' treaty of alliance with France had just expired, and he had reason to hope for its renewal. The wisest ministers of Louis XV. were in favor of such an alliance. But Madame de Pompadour had been won by the opposite party. Maria Theresa, on this occasion, descended so low as to address to this woman a flattering letter, commencing: "*Ma chère amie.*" The advice of the cabinet ministers was thus rejected, and an offensive and defensive alliance concluded with Austria. The destinies of nations trembled in the balance; the happiness of thousands was at stake,—yet the note from Maria Theresa,

the *bon mots* of Frederic, the spite of Pompadour, turned the beam. France was promised an increase of territory on the side of Flanders, and the sincerity of the alliance was secured by a common hatred of the King of Prussia.

Frederic had hoped from *Russia*, if not an alliance, at least neutrality; but the personal enmity of Elizabeth, and the fact that the Russian minister, Bestucheff, had been bought by Austria, outweighed the interest of the nation, and Russia also joined the league. She hoped, moreover, to gain the Prussian Baltic provinces, West and East Prussia. Even before the last Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Maria Theresa had concluded a secret treaty (1746) with Elizabeth. This treaty guaranteed, in certain contingencies, the reunion of Silesia with Austria.

Russia.

Sweden, at that time a weak government, still under French influence, joined the alliance with the hope of regaining Pomerania.

Sweden.

Jealous of her rival's increasing prosperity, *Saxony* was glad to assist in her destruction, and to obtain a portion of her territory. During the Seven Years' War, the Elector of Saxony was Frederic Augustus II., at the same time King of Poland (as Frederic Augustus III.). On account of his Polish affairs, he left the government of Saxony almost entirely to his chief minister, Count Brühl, the enemy of Frederic, who joined the Austrian alliance. The war cost Saxony ninety thousand men and seventy million thalers.

Saxony.

All the princes of *Germany*, except four small States, joined Austria. These small States were Brunswick, Hesse, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Lippe.

many.

Frederic thus saw arrayed against him the three

great continental powers, and, in fact, nearly all Europe. It was not only a union of the old, proud monarchies against the *parvenu*, Prussia, but of the Roman Catholic powers against Protestantism. All Europe prepared to rush upon the little Prussia and tread her out of existence. The plan was openly proclaimed. To Russia, West and East Prussia; to Sweden, Pomerania; to Saxony, Magdeburg and Halberstadt. Silesia was to go back to Austria, the Westphalian provinces to France, and Frederic, stripped of every thing but the Marks, was to be degraded to the rank of a Margrave of Brandenburg. The Treaty of Alliance between Russia, Austria, and France, contained the stipulations for this partition of Prussia. Here, as in the case of the Great Elector after the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, Prussia, Protestantism, and progress stood alone against continental Europe. England (George II., with Hanover) agreed to pay Frederic annually five million thalers. One reason of England's alliance with Prussia was the necessity of securing Hanover from a threatened attack of the French. Frederic had seventeen million in his treasury when the war began.

Treaty for Partition of Prussia.

Austria brought into the field one hundred and eighty thousand men; France, one hundred thousand; Russia, one hundred and twenty thousand; Sweden, twenty-six thousand; Francis I., Emperor of Germany and husband of Maria Theresa, sixty thousand — in all, nearly five hundred thousand. Frederic's army amounted to two hundred thousand. The population of Prussia, including Silesia, was about five millions. That of the powers allied against her, about one hundred millions.

What brought England into the field? A brief sketch, in which, as far as England is concerned, we anticipate

events up to the end of the war, will reply to this question. England and France had been engaged in hostile acts in North America before the war commenced. The frontier of Canada had never been determined, and both powers claimed the same territory on the Ohio. Conflicts between French and English ships took place in the West Indies. The English razed several French fortresses. In 1755, just as the Seven Years' War was breaking out, the British government sent Braddock to North America to conduct the military movements against the French. On arriving, Braddock appointed as his aid-de-camp a young man named George Washington, recommended as one well acquainted with the territory and with Indian modes of warfare, and who had already distinguished himself. Braddock then undertook the expedition against the French Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio (Pittsburg, Pennsylvania). Washington ventured to point out the necessity of certain measures of precaution. The advice was disregarded, and consequently Braddock fell into an ambush of French and Indians, was thoroughly defeated and mortally wounded.

England and the British-American Colonies.

Geo. Washington.

Louis XV. now declared war against Great Britain (spring of 1756). The struggle extended to the West Indies, to Africa, and to the East Indies. In the West Indies the British fleet took a number of French islands; also Louisburg, the important sea-port of the Island of Cape Breton. The French had here erected a fortress at an immense expense. A French fleet was destroyed. The war reached its highest point in 1759. Just as Frederic was losing the battle of Kunnersdorf, the English were inflicting the heaviest losses upon the French in North America. At last, General Wolf gave the French

power in America its death-blow by the capture of Quebec. France here lost, and England gained, an empire.

Had France kept out of the Seven Years' War, she would have had a better chance to beat England in America. So strangely are connected historical events, not only in different ages, but in the same age, at different points of the globe, that Washington, fighting on the Ohio, was co-operating with Frederic the Great in opening the way for the present German Empire, as well as with Danton and Mirabeau in kindling the French Revolution. At the close of the war, which we are now about to sketch, France had lost nearly all her American colonies.

The reader will bear in mind that during the war, the British throne was filled by George II., and in 1760 by George III. William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, was minister; Louis XV., with his Pompadour, French king. Pitt declared he would conquer French America in Germany, and Frederic might have declared he would conquer France in America.

Spain.

What brought *Spain* into the field? We have already seen that Spain was an ally of France to promote their mutual interests on the Rhine and in Italy. She joined France also in the war which Louis XV. was carrying on against England in America, and thus naturally became a party to the war against Prussia.

Seven Years' War. First year, 1756, from August.

Undismayed by the gigantic preparations against him, Frederic commenced the war at a moment when he knew the allies were not ready. Austria, Russia, and Saxony had set a trap for him. By a series of insulting acts, they were to provoke him to commence hostilities, and to entice him into

the interior of Bohemia. Saxony pretended neutrality, and courteously offered him free way across her territory; but, after his army should have fairly entered Bohemia, she was suddenly to declare war against him in the rear, while he was engaged with the Austrians in front, and thus, at a single blow, to end the war and destroy Prussia. By a bribed clerk in the Saxon foreign office, Frederic was kept informed of all the warlike preparations and plots against him. He accepted the friendly invitation of Saxony to cross her territory with seventy thousand men (August 29, 1756), but instead of crossing into Bohemia, he marched directly to Dresden, took possession of that capital and of the Saxon government, its provisions, arms, archives, and revenues. Among other objects, he seized and laid before the European public a mass of confidential documents, betraying all the plans of the allies against him. Two victories in Bohemia completed the conquest of Saxony. The Saxon army was surrounded at Pirna. Eighteen thousand Saxon troops surrendered as war prisoners, and were forced to serve in the Prussian army. The Empire declared war against Prussia, and threatened to place Frederic under the ban.

Frederic passed the winter in Dresden at the palace of his enemy, Count Brühl. He was present at a Catholic service, and heard a sermon at the Protestant Kreuzchurch. He enjoyed the Picture-gallery, gave *soirees*, and often attended the opera. Thus passed the first year of the war. The fury of his enemies heightened his enjoyment. But the easy conquest of Saxony and his pleasant winter in its capital were as deceitful as the south wind which so softly wafted Paul's ship to Crete.

In May, Frederic entered Bohemia, and gained the victory of Prague, dearly purchased by the loss of one

of his greatest soldiers, Field-marshal Count Schwerin. Among the distinguished generals in Frederic's army in this battle were Frederic's brother, Prince Henry, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Prince of Anhalt Dessau. The Austrians were commanded by Duke Charles of Lorraine and Field-marshals Daun and Brown.

Second year. Victory of Prague, 1757.

The advantages gained at Prague were lost at Kolin. Here Frederic was completely defeated by Daun, although he opposed his person to the retreat of his troops, driving them back into the battle with the furious words, "*You rascals, do you want to live forever?*"

Defeat at Kolin, June 18, 1757.

The defeat of Kolin was rendered more disastrous by the bad generalship of Prince August William, next brother of the king, to whom Frederic had intrusted the task of defending the frontier of Saxony against the Austrians. In this attempt the prince was completely unsuccessful. Daun outflanked him, occupied a part of Saxony, and bombarded Zittau. In consequence, the king dismissed his brother from the army. It was this prince whom Frederic's father, during their famous quarrel, had desired to appoint to the throne instead of Frederic. After a life of debauchery, Prince August William died, 1758. He was the father of Frederic the Great's successor, Frederic William II., and grandfather of Frederic William III.

Prince August William.

The defeat of Kolin obliged Frederic to evacuate Bohemia. It destroyed for the moment the prestige of his name, and his enemies attacked him with new vigor. Westphalia was occupied by French troops, who advanced to the Weser. The French Marshal d'Estrees at Hastenbeck

Consequences of the defeat of Kolin.

(Hanover) defeated Frederic's allies, the English, under the Duke of Cumberland (son of George II.). The Russians, with an overwhelming force, attacked the Prussians and defeated them at Grossjägerndorf, but for some cause refrained from following up their victory. It is said the Russian minister had been now bribed by England! The French temporarily occupied Hanover. Frederic appointed Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick commander-in-chief of the forces on the Rhine. The Pompadour sent a new army under one of her favorites, Prince Soubise, to join the Imperial forces and drive Frederic out of Saxony.

Soubise at Gotha, 1757.

In due time the French, under Prince Soubise, occupied Gotha, eight thousand strong. Frederic sent Seidlitz with fifteen hundred men against him. This fiery general drove the French out of the town. Prince Soubise and his officers, at the moment of the attack, had been in the act of sitting down to a dinner prepared in the royal palace. Seidlitz and his generals had the honor of eating the dinner which, no doubt, was a very good and a very merry one, for the army of Madame de Pompadour, if it had not skillful officers, was provided with excellent cooks, and there is no reason to suppose that the champagne lost any of its sparkle by its sudden change of destination. This incident was a deep stain upon the military reputation of France, but Pompadour had the power to maintain her favorite in his place.

Battle of Rossbach, November 5, 1757.

Amid these difficulties, Frederic was relieved by the victory of Rossbach. Prince Soubise, at the head of sixty thousand men, met him with only twenty-two thousand. Frederic maneuvered in such a way as to convince the prince that

he was about to retreat before such overwhelming numbers. Thus deceived, Soubise abandoned a very advantageous position, and proceeded to surround Frederic's little army, which remained quiet during these movements. Soubise ascribed this inactivity to despair, and expected every moment to receive an unconditional surrender. At about two in the afternoon, however, the Prussian order for battle was given. Seidlitz attacked with his cavalry, the infantry and artillery followed. The enemy fled. Their flight was so swift, that it won for them the name of the winged army. The ground, as they went, was strewed with cuirasses, jack-boots, gold and silver sashes, hats bedizened with feathers, etc. The fashionable young officers had brought hosts of young *grisettes*, hair-dressers, and all the paraphernalia of Paris fine life. This victory has never been forgiven by the French. The word *Rossbach*, as well as *Leipsic* and *Waterloo*, was cried in the streets of Paris as the war party was getting up the war of 1870.

The victory, loudly applauded throughout Europe, increased Frederic's reputation, particularly in England. Pitt profited by the moment to secure increased assistance from the British government. With his victorious army, Frederic now hastened on to Silesia to meet the Austrians, under Charles of Lorraine and Daun.

Battle of Leuthen, 1757.

The second year closed with the victory here obtained by Frederic. An interesting circumstance showed how much of the old spirit of the Reformation still held its ground in Germany, notwithstanding the fashionable French infidelity. After the victory of Leuthen, the troops were obliged to stand all night on the battle-field. One soldier began to sing the hymn of Rinckart, "Nun danket Alle Gott!"

("Now let us all thank God.") He was joined by the soldiers immediately around. Then a band struck in, and presently the different bands. Gradually that grand old hymn, composed more than one hundred years previously (and still continually heard in the German churches), resounded from the lips of twenty-five thousand men, and from all the bands on the field. After every one of Frederic's great victories, a thanksgiving was celebrated. The infantry formed a square, and, after firing a salvo, sung Luther's hymn, "*Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott.*"

Third year, 1758.

During this winter, the Russian General Fermor received orders to occupy Prussia, and treat the land as a Russian province. The Russian army entered Königsberg, and compelled the authorities to swear allegiance to the Empress. They then broke into Pomerania, destroyed and desolated with fire and sword, slaughtering young and old, women and children. Frederic, with thirty thousand men, met them, fifty thousand strong, at Zorndorf, and, indignant at their cruelties, ordered no quarter. This was one of the most bloody battles. At its close, nineteen thousand Russians and eleven thousand Prussians, dead or wounded, lay upon the field. Seidlitz here again greatly distinguished himself.

Battle of Zorndorf, 1758.

Battle of Hochkirchen, Oct. 14 and 15, 1758.

A battle to save Saxony was now indispensable. The Prussian army took up its position at Bautzen. Had Frederic remained here he might have avoided one of the greatest catastrophes of the war. But in his eagerness to force Daun to a battle, he left his strong position and took up another at the village of Hochkirchen, near Bautzen, untenable

because Imperial troops occupied the surrounding heights. With his army of only thirty thousand men, and against the advice of his ablest generals, he determined to surprise, on the night of the 15th October, a portion of the Imperial troops at Reichenbach, and so to cut his way through the difficulty. This plan, however, was anticipated by Daun, who, instead of being himself surprised on the night of the 15th, completely surprised Frederic by a night attack on the 14th. The defeat was terrible; the exhausted, discouraged Prussians rested at a place distant only an hour from the battle-field. The loss in men, cannon, and flags was enormous. The king himself, and nearly all his generals, were wounded. The enemies of Frederic rejoiced in their victory as a death-blow to Frederic's hopes in Saxony; but with admirable skill and energy he re-inforced his army, repaired his losses, outmaneuvered the Austrians, and so divided the enemy's forces as to place himself again on the vantage-ground. He had now beaten in succession French, Austrian, and Russian armies greatly superior in number, and yet retained a firm hold upon Saxony and Silesia.

Campaign of the Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick on the Rhine, 1758.

While Frederic and his generals, Ziethen, Prince Henry, Dohna, Keith, etc., were struggling in Saxony, Silesia, Pomerania, Bohemia, Moravia, against the Austrians, Russians, Swedes, and Saxons, etc., the Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, assisted by the English, conducted the campaign on the Rhine against the French under Count Clermont, the Duke de Broglie, Contades, and Prince Soubise. Clermont was one of the favorites of Madame de Pompadour.

Battle of Crefeld, June 23, 1758.

The Duke of Brunswick gained the great battle of Crefeld.

Frederic had thus far maintained himself against his powerful enemies, notwithstanding striking faults and heavy reverses. He was now destined to make the discovery that he had undertaken a task beyond his strength. He appointed General Wedel to the chief command of the troops of Silesia, but embarrassed him by an order which may be also numbered among the military faults committed by Frederic during this war, namely, to deliver battle to the Russians without delay and under any circumstances, in case he could not otherwise prevent the union of the Russian and Austrian forces. Wedel took the command, and immediately found himself under the necessity of obeying the order. The Russians occupied a most advantageous, the Prussians a most difficult and dangerous, position. What must be the discouragement of a brave officer obliged to seek a battle which he knows must terminate in defeat. The attack was made at Kay, on the Oder. The Russian batteries played with deadly effect; the Prussians were surrounded under a cross-fire. Wedel was obliged to retreat with a loss of five thousand men. Soltikow, the Russian commander, was immediately joined by Laudon, with eighteen thousand cavalry, and threatened Berlin. Now Frederic called around him all the forces within reach. He could bring his army up only to forty thousand, but he determined to stake all upon the single battle.

Fourth year, 1759.

He met the united Austrian and Russian army, sixty-six thousand strong, in a fortified position at Kunersdorf (Silesia). Notwithstanding unusual natural obstacles presented by the ground on which Frederic was forced to post his army, and notwithstanding the deadly fire of grape from one

Battle of Kunersdorf, August 12, 1759.

hundred cannon, the Russian entrenchments were stormed. The Russians fled, leaving all their cannon. At six o'clock in the evening, Frederic dispatched couriers to Silesia and Berlin, prematurely announcing his glorious victory. But at this moment, Laudon, with his Austrians, who had not yet taken part in the battle, attacked the over-wearied Prussians. His fierce cavalry, from all points, dashed among them. In vain the king, in vain Seidlitz, attempted to make head against them. The Prussians fled over the Oder, leaving behind them the cannon which they had taken from the Russians. Two horses were shot under Frederic, and a musket-ball would have gone through his breast had it not struck against a golden *étui*, which he carried in his waistcoat pocket. He sought death in vain, crying: "*Is there no cursed ball for me?*" He would have been taken prisoner but for the courage of a Prussian cavalry officer. He refused to quit the field. His attendants were obliged to bear him away by force. Most of his generals were wounded.

General Putkammer and the poet Ewald von Kleist were killed.

Frederic passed the night at a village on the Oder, with the wreck of his army, dwindled down to five thousand men. He was totally cut off from Silesia and Saxony. The Imperialists occupied Dresden. The whole country lay open to the enemy. They had only to march into Berlin and take possession. The war was lost.

Frederic resolved to terminate his life. He habitually carried with him on his person little pills of poison, so that in case the war went against him, he might lay down his load of disappointment "in the high Roman fashion."

> "That part of tyranny which weighs on me,
> I can lay down at pleasure."

He wrote a rapid line, in pencil, to his minister, Finckenstein, at Berlin:

"Send the royal family and the archives to Magdeburg. Notify the inhabitants of Berlin that they must look to their own safety. I have no means to protect the capital. All is lost. Farewell forever."

Soltikow might, at any moment, have followed him and cut his army to pieces. But Soltikow did not follow him. Frederic rose from his depression, and manifested, in its fullest splendor, that energy and military skill for which he was so remarkable. He had received news of the great victory of Minden-on-the-Rhine, August 1, 1759. Instead of swallowing poison, he gave the orders necessary for remedying his defeat. He was assisted by the able and sleepless co-operation of his brother, Prince Henry. By a series of admirable maneuvers, this prince kept the Austrians occupied till Frederic had time to reappear, at the head of an army of twenty-eight thousand men. The course of Soltikow was not the result of accident. The Austrians and Russians were growing more and more jealous of each other. The court of Vienna had made complaints against Soltikow. He was, therefore, not disposed to complete the destruction of Frederic, who, although indeed a dangerous enemy to Austria, stood in a very different relation with regard to Russia. In fact, the whole war of Russia against Frederic was but the expression of the personal hatred entertained by Elizabeth, and might be terminated at any moment by her death. It must not be forgotten, that the heir to the Russian throne, Peter, was a warm friend of Frederic. It may well be that Soltikow gave due weight to the wishes of so distinguished a person. The discontent of Soltikow was now increased by another circumstance. The decisive operations of Prince Henry in Bohemia, at

this time, obliged Daun to withdraw his forces from Silesia. By this movement, the Russian army in Silesia was left in a very disadvantageous position, and this so added to the displeasure of Soltikow, that he withdrew his troops into Poland.

The battle of Kunersdorf was followed by other heavy catastrophes. The enemy took Leipsic, Wittenberg, Torgau, and at last, Dresden.

Battle of Mayen, Nov., 1759.

Frederic, suffering with the gout and desperate at the steady increase of misfortunes, sent General Finck into a false position, where that general, who knew it would be the case, was disastrously defeated and, with his whole force of thirteen thousand men, taken prisoner.

Laudon.

Laudon, the most formidable enemy, had, in the beginning of the war, endeavored to enter into the Prussian service. He obtained an interview with Frederic, who refused to employ him. "This man's physiognomy," Frederic afterward said, "does not please me." Laudon then entered into the Austrian service. His charges were terrible, his victories brilliant, his defeats remarkable for the calmness and skill displayed in the moment of failure. Frederic once said: "We must learn from Laudon how to retreat; he leaves the field like a conqueror." He is described as noble, generous, sincerely Christian, simple in his manners, modest, and upright, never flattering the great. Perhaps that was the reason Frederic did not like his physiognomy.

Battle of Minden, 1759.

The war had gone better on the Rhine. The Duke of Brunswick, as already mentioned, here gained the great battle of Minden over the French under Contades.

During the fifth year, the battle of Landshut (Bavaria)

was lost by the Prussian General Fouque, in consequence of another wrong order from Frederic. Fouque and four thousand men remained prisoners till the end of the war. *Fifth year, 1760.*

Frederic now determined to retake Dresden. The bombardment commenced July 14, 1760. The Austrian army was strongly re-inforced; but Frederic, hoping that they would rather retire than see the city laid in ashes, mercilessly continued the bombardment. In the Wilsdruffer quarter, many houses, also the Kreuz-church, were destroyed. Seeing the impossibility of taking the town, hearing of new disasters from Silesia, that a large supply of munitions and corn from Magdeburg had been seized by the enemy, and that Laudon was laying siege to Breslau, Frederic abandoned Dresden and hastened into Silesia. Dresden was at that time a strong fortress. *Bombardment of Dresden by Frederic, July, 1760.*

More and more exhausted by the long struggle, Frederic was in danger of being crushed by superior numbers. The Austrians were seeking to join the Russians. At Liegnitz, Frederic met the Austrians alone, under Laudon, and beat them. This prevented the union. *Battle of Liegnitz, August 15, 1760.*

But now all his energy could not prevent a great catastrophe. Twenty thousand Russians, under Todleben, suddenly appeared before the Prussian capital. Berlin capitulated, and General Todleben occupied the city. A contribution of four million thalers was demanded. But Todleben used his power mildly, and generously accepted about half the sum. Perhaps, Prince Peter had something to do with that also. In consequence, Todleben fell into disfavor. The Russians committed barbarous *Berlin occupied by the Russians, Oct. 13, 1760.*

cruelties in the neighborhood of Berlin. The chateaux of Charlottenburg and Schonhausen were plundered. On the information that the king was approaching, they evacuated the city, desolating every thing within their reach. The towns Kopenik, Furstenwalde, Beskow, and Landsberg were plundered.

Battle of Torgau, Nov. 3, 1760.

In the meanwhile, the Imperial army (Daun) had taken Torgau. Frederic determined to retake it. The Prussians, led by Frederic in person, stormed many batteries, but, after severe fighting, were defeated. The king received a not dangerous, but painful wound in the breast. Night came on. Frederic thought the battle lost. Daun, who was severely wounded, sent a courier to Vienna, announcing his victory.

It would have been a bad day for Frederic but for Ziethen; that noble general had been completely successful on the other side of the town. He had taken an elevated height, whence his batteries poured such a heavy fire upon the Austrians, that Daun retreated over the Elbe. In the night, the Austrian and Prussian soldiers, not knowing which army had gained the victory, peacefully mingled together at the Prussian watch-fires, having made a kind of armistice. Daun retired to Dresden with an immense loss in men and cannon. By this victory, Frederic regained all Saxony, except Dresden. He selected Leipsic for his winter-quarters, levied a contribution of eight hundred thousand thalers, and threw the principal merchants into prison as hostages, till payment of the sum. At about this period, Frederic farmed out the mint to an Israelite named Iphraim, for seven million thalers. Iphraim got very rich, but the money which he coined was so adulterated that a genuine Frederic d'or (five

thalers, twenty groschen) was worth twenty of the new thalers. Other parties to the war imitated Frederic's example, so that all Germany was inundated with false coin. The people called the pieces Ephraimites, and made doggerel on them. One of these compositions ran something in this way:

> "Outwardly silver, inwardly tin,
> Frederic without, Ephraim within."

Sixth year, 1761.

At the beginning of the sixth year, Europe was sick of the war; but Frederic would make no concession. Maria Theresa would not now have been satisfied with all Silesia. The Empress Elizabeth regarded Prussia as a conquered province. The King of Sweden and the Swedish nation were always opposed to the war; but the whole power of the government was in the hands of the Swedish Parliament, and this body was entirely under the influence of France. After Prussia, the nation most discontented with the war, was France. Her heavy sacrifices, in men and money, had been crowned by no glory, and been counterbalanced by no advantages. But the Pompadour and the Duke de Choiseul, from personal enmity to Frederic, were determined against peace. So, the European powers resolved to fight on, though the hearts' blood of the people should be drained to the last drop.

Death of George II., Oct., 1760.

Frederic's ally, George II. of England, now died. Pitt, Frederic's friend, remained still minister under George III.; but he had for a time to share his power with Lord Bute, who opposed the war, and who had influence enough to terminate the subsidies of five million thalers a year, which had till now been paid. Frederic thus, from want of

money, was obliged to change his mode of warfare from the offensive to the defensive. We need not follow in all their details the events of the sixth year. It was spent by the Austrians in attempts to reconquer Silesia. Laudon was sent with seventy-two thousand men into that province, and a Russian general, Buturlin (instead of Soltikow), with sixty thousand, was ordered to join Laudon in Silesia. Frederic left Saxony to the care of Prince Henry, and himself marched into Silesia to prevent this union. He seemed now nearer destruction than at any former moment. He could not give his enemies battle; for he was surrounded by such overwhelming numbers that, while victory could bring him only temporary advantage, defeat must prove his final ruin.

The Russian and Austrian forces united at Bunzelwitz, Aug. 12, 1761.

The so much dreaded union, however, was at last effected at Bunzelwitz, near Breslau. Buturlin and Laudon, at the head of one hundred thousand men, prepared to encompass the king's little army and cut it to pieces. With true heroism, Frederic maintained his ground and, choosing a favorable position at Bunzelwitz, intrenched himself strongly, converting several villages and four hills into a fortress. Time, however, would not have been given him for this, but for one of those contingencies to which he had often before owed his safety. Buturlin and Laudon began to quarrel. At the very moment when their troops were united, they themselves were separated by questions of precedence. At one time, the Prussian army (fifty thousand men, against one hundred and thirty thousand) stood the whole night ready and waiting for the battle, which, however, never commenced. To such a point had the differences

risen between Buturlin and Laudon, that the Russian general declared he would not make the attack at all.

The Prussians were well supplied with bread; not so, the enemy. In their camp the necessaries of life began to fail. While Buturlin and Laudon were quarreling about which should stand before the other, Frederic sent a body of seven thousand men, who broke into Poland, captured a depot of five thousand Russian wagons containing supplies, and burnt three magazines. Buturlin, already in a rage, not pacified by this incident, seized the pretext to withdraw his forces from the Austrians, crossed the Oder, and retired into Poland. Frederic was thus saved again.

The Austrians take Schweidnitz, Sept. 30, 1761.

Laudon, however, inflicted a heavy blow. Instead of accepting the battle to which Frederic invited him, he made a sudden and successful night attack upon the fortress of Schweidnitz, and there took up his winter quarters.

Conspiracy to murder Frederic.

Frederic now very nearly fell victim to a conspiracy, the object of which was to murder him, unless he could be seized and delivered to Austria. The chief conspirator was Baron Warkotsch, a Silesian nobleman, upon whom Frederic had bestowed many favors. The king slept one night at a chateau belonging to Warkotsch, who attempted to execute his purpose that night, but was prevented by an accident. Soon after Frederic had taken up his winter-quarters at Strehlen, the traitor watched his opportunity to make a new attempt. The king occupied a house surrounded by thick woods. The guard of the king consisted of only a few companies of grenadiers. Warkotsch had, among other accomplices, an Austrian Colonel Wallis, and a Catholic priest. The plan was to set on fire

several villages in the neighborhood, and in this way to divert the attention of the troops. A number of hussars were then to break out of the adjoining wood and carry away the king prisoner, or, should that be found impossible, to kill him on the spot. The conspiracy was betrayed by the servant of Warkotsch, Cappel. Warkotsch sent him on the evening with a letter to Wallis. This letter Cappel brought to the Lutheran pastor, Gerlach, who immediately delivered it to the king. Warkotsch and his friend, the Catholic priest, Schmidt, fled and escaped. The large possessions of Warkotsch in Silesia were confiscated.

Seventh year. From Jan., 1762, to Feb. 15, 1763.

The seventh year found Frederic in a desperate condition. The loss of Schweidnitz was one of the heaviest blows. He could not believe it. He passionately contradicted the officer who brought the news. The chief object of the campaign had been to defend this fortress. Its loss had been followed by another. The Russians took Colberg. After six years' desperate fighting, the enemies were gradually advancing. Half Silesia, half Saxony, half Pomerania, were in their possession. For the first time, the Russians had cantoned during the winter in the latter province. Dresden was still held by the Austrians. The French, on the Rhine, levied heavy exactions, aggravated by cruelty and brutal licentiousness; and the savage troops of Elizabeth knew they gratified their mistress by destroying and oppressing wherever they could. The termination of the English subsidy was a great embarrassment. Frederic's army had dwindled down to thirty thousand; that of his brother Henry to about the same. The treasury was exhausted. He did not know how to replenish it. Some of his greatest generals had fallen. One sixth of

his subjects capable of military duty were buried on the battle-field. His old veterans had given place to raw recruits and deserters from the enemy. His health was breaking down. His prestige was gone. He stood alone, not only against the powers of Europe, but against his own army. He was becoming unpopular among the soldiers, and his generals were losing confidence in him. Prussia seemed about to be partitioned. Russia could scarcely fail to seize the Marks, Stettin, and even Berlin itself. So closed the sixth year of that war, which had been inaugurated by such merry dancing with the beautiful ladies of Silesia.

Death of Elizabeth, January 5, 1762.

In this his darkest hour, his old enemy Elizabeth was called to her account. Before her death, which had been hastened by intemperance and debauchery, she summoned her ministers around her bed, and exacted a promise to continue the war against Frederic. But she was scarcely laid in her coffin, when her nephew, Peter III., ascended the throne. He instantly dispatched Count Tschernycheff to the Prussian head-quarters, and concluded a peace. All the Prussian prisoners were released; all the Prussian territory taken during the war restored, and Frederic reinforced by twenty thousand Russian troops. Upon this, Sweden concluded peace. Frederic was saved again. He levied various contributions. Leipsic alone had to pay one million thalers.

Battles of Reichenbach and Schweidnitz, June 21 and October 29, 1762.

It was well for Frederic that his movements were rapid. Just as, aided by the Russians, he was preparing to retake the fortress of Schweidnitz, Tschernycheff received a dispatch from St. Petersburg, informing him of the revolution which, on July 9, had dethroned the

Emperor, Peter III., and elevated his wife, Catherine II., to his place. (By this conspiracy, be it said, Peter lost not only his throne, but his life. He was strangled, it is believed, by order of his wife and successor, Catherine, who richly rewarded the perpetrator of the deed.) The dispatch recalled Tschernycheff, with his twenty thousand men. The Empress Catherine, although she withdrew the troops, confirmed the peace, and during the rest of the war maintained neutrality. Frederic, having begged Tschernycheff to conceal his orders for a time, immediately attacked and defeated the Austrians at Reichenbach, near Schweidnitz. Although the Russian troops remained inactive during this battle, their presence was of great service to Frederic, as they held in check one wing of the Austrian army, which had not yet been informed of Catherine's dispatch. The immediate attack upon Schweidnitz began August 8. The fortress would have been longer defended; but a Prussian mine blew up a wall, and made such a breach, that the fortress surrendered.

Battle of Freiberg, Oct. 29, 1762.

The king returned to Saxony, and on the way received news of another splendid victory,—namely, one obtained by Prince Henry, assisted by Seidlitz, at Freiberg, near Dresden, over the Austrians. This was the last battle.

Peace of Paris. Between France, England, and Spain, Feb. 10, 1763.

The Peace of Paris was concluded between France, England, and Spain, and had an important bearing upon the growing greatness of the thirteen British Colonies, so soon to become the United States of America. *England* received from France, Canada, with the adjoining Island of Cape Breton; and from Spain, Florida.

Spain received from France, Louisiana; and from England, the Island of Cuba (in exchange for Florida).

The Mississippi was accepted as the line between Louisiana and the British Colonies.

Before this peace, Spain and France had possessed nearly the whole of North America, except the narrow belt of British Colonies on the Atlantic Coast. The extension of these Colonies to the Mississippi more than trebled their area, which, however, still remained less than Spanish North America. This last included all the vast, then unexplored, region from the Mississippi to the Pacific. The subsequent transferences of these territories; how Louisiana became French again, and how nearly the whole continent finally gravitated to the United States, do not belong to our history.

Peace of Hubertsburg. — End of the Seven Years' War, February 15, 1763.

Frederic had formed a large plan for the campaign of the eighth year; but Austria was now exhausted, and proposed peace. Frederic acquiesced. Prussia, Austria, and Saxony each sent representatives to Hubertsburg, a royal hunting castle in Saxony. Frederic retained Silesia, but yielded back Saxony. All parties renounced indemnification for loss or damage. The German Empire had already withdrawn from the war.

Frederic after the war.

The war broke down Frederic physically. He became stern and severe. People began to call him "Old Fritz." He wrote to his friend, Madam de Camas: "You will not know me; my back is curved, and I have wrinkles in my face like the flounces of a lady's dress." In his battles, he exposed himself daringly, and had many horses killed or wounded under him; for instance, at Hohenfriedberg, Hochkirchen, Kunersdorf, Liegnitz, and Torgau.

It was not only the fatigue, the constant straining of all the powers of mind and body; the sudden reverses,

often mingled, no doubt, with remorse; the loss of such generals as Winterfeld, Schwerin, Keith, which broke him down—but family misfortunes; the death of his beloved mother, which he learned immediately after the defeat of Kolin; and the death of his favorite sister, the Margravine of Baireuth; the news reached him just as he had been so terribly defeated at Hochkirchen.

A few Thoughts on the Seven Years' War.

Supposing a legal and equitable claim, was the First Silesian War a wise step? Would the Great Elector have undertaken it with so little regard to the possible consequences? Was it the act of an upright, sober-minded statesman? Was it not rather that of a young gambler who stakes all upon a single cast? Such a gambler sometimes wins; but is winning an argument in favor of gambling? The war inflicted indescribable suffering upon the Prussian people, as upon all Europe. It was not Frederic's wisdom as a statesman, nor his genius as a soldier, which saved Prussia, but a number of remarkable, unexpected contingencies. Frederic himself acknowledges his thoughtlessness, in a confidential letter to his friend Jordan, during the First Silesian War. He writes as follows: "My youth, the ardor of burning passions, desire of glory, nay, to conceal nothing from you, curiosity, and finally a secret instinct, and the pleasure of seeing my name recorded in the newspapers, and perhaps, at last, in history, have seduced me."

On the other hand, it is true that Prussia was surrounded by enemies always watching to destroy her. One thing is clear, the Silesian wars added to the strength of Prussia, completed her transformation into a military State, placed her in a commanding position among the European powers, and aided in laying the foundation of

her present pre-eminence. This is no justification; but Austria, after so many unjustifiable acts against Brandenburg, had no right to complain of injustice. From this time, Prussia began to take the lead among the German princes.

Again, it must not be forgotten that the antagonism between Austria and Prussia was not only for political but for religious supremacy. The Roman Church had not abandoned the hope to recover her dominion over those countries of Northern Europe which had been wrested from her by the Reformation. Austria represented Catholicism; Prussia, Protestantism. It is the mission of the House of Hohenzollern to defend pure Christianity against Romanism, on the one side, and materialism on the other. While Frederic, unfortunately, during a great part of his reign, aided in introducing infidelity, and making it fashionable in his country, yet he was an instrument to protect Northern Europe against the errors of Rome.

He liked to write as well as to fight, and has pleaded his own cause at the bar of history. His plea is somewhat in contradiction to the ingenuous confession in his letter to Jordan. His work, "Anti-Machiavel," presents the following argument:

"There are wars of precaution, which a wise prince will not neglect to undertake. They are offensive to justice, but they are, nevertheless, right. When the excessive grandeur of a nation appears about to overflow its banks, and to inundate the universe, prudence requires that, while we have yet the power, we should arrest the strong current by proper barriers. If the sovereign can not protect himself, he ought to unite with other powers menaced by the same danger. Had the

kings of Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia formed a coalition against Rome, she would not have been able to overthrow these Empires." (Doubtful!)

But it may be asked: Did Austria's excessive grandeur at that time threaten the world so much as to render it necessary to wrest Silesia from her? It was Frederic himself who threatened the world by his ambition and great military genius. So far from inundating the universe, Austria was in danger of being herself inundated. The Treaty of Westphalia had already weakened her; the extinction of the male line of her royal house was another heavy blow; and her young Empress, instead of threatening the world, saw arrayed against her the unprincipled European powers in the War of the Austrian Succession. Frederic did not attack because she was strong, but because she was weak. He little suspected, however, the forces she could rally against him. He thought he had secured France as his own ally, and that Russia, for her own interest, would remain neutral. Besides, he offered, if she would cede the duchies, to defend her against all her enemies. The inundation which was really to "overflow the universe," was indeed already beginning to heave its waves, not in Austria, but in *France*. Had Prussia, Austria, and Russia, with their eight hundred thousand men, instead of wasting their strength against each other, formed an honest, defensive coalition against France, they might, perhaps, have restrained, if not suppressed, the horrors of the French Revolution, and withheld from Napoleon the power to trample on the world for so many years. A statesman possessed of wisdom from above will always regard with suspicion that large class of wars which are declared to be "right, although offensive to justice."

The honor of partitioning Poland must be accorded to Frederic, although the idea had been proposed before.

Partitions of Poland, 1773–1793–1795.

The first partition took place under Frederic the Great, Catherine II., and Maria Theresa. The latter stands distinguished from her two allies. She was reluctantly forced into the measure, and beheld, with tears of shame, her dominions enlarged by her share of the spoils. Each power annexed the territory adjoining its own frontier. In a manifesto, with a candor which often distinguishes public documents, the motive of the partition was declared to be *the restoration of peace, order, and liberty to Poland.*

The second division took place about twenty years afterward, 1793; the third, 1795. The last two during the reign of Frederic William II., successor of Frederic the Great.

Frederic positively declared there should be no further partition. It is often the case with nations and individuals, that they take one step in the wrong direction, quieting their consciences by the determination not to take another. By the first partition, Prussia obtained all the Polish commerce. By the three divisions, with a population of two and a half millions, she received large districts now chiefly composing her provinces, West Prussia and Posen. Frederic acknowledged that the act had a very ugly look, but excused it on the ground that it was necessary to avert great disasters from his own people, and from Poland itself; that it was the only means to avoid a general war; that it put an end to the tyranny of the aristocrats in Poland, freed that unhappy land from serfdom, transformed a large body of peasants and slaves into freemen, and delivered the country of

Copernicus from barbarism. He might have added that it also connected, into one whole, two separate fragments of his own dominions, and joined the Kingdom of Prussia proper (that is, the former Duchy of Prussia, now East Prussia) with Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Silesia. After the partition, Frederic took the title, "King of Prussia," instead of "King of the Prussians." Public opinion, in most civilized countries, has regarded this partition as a violation of legal and moral right, for which even the condition and antecedents of Poland, bad as they were, offered no adequate justification. It was executed by the three powers for the purpose of enlarging their territories, and was called the crime of the century. "The privileged classes," says one of the ablest modern German historians,* "regarded the burghers and peasants as beasts of burden (Milchkühe), by whose aid they were enabled to continue their lazy, debauched way of living." The politics of that entire century was only a system of the lowest charlatanry, of which the partition of Poland was the culminating point. The responsibility rests not only with those powers which committed, but with those which did not prevent, it. It was among the subjects of the street orators in Paris on the breaking out of the great French Revolution, and has ever since fanned the flames of popular hatred against all governments.

Skepticism of Frederic.

We have seen in what way Frederic, as a youth, was led into skepticism. He had never given to the subject either study or reflection. He had not even the sophistical reasoning of our modern materialists, as the really wonderful discoveries from which their hypotheses are so illogically inferred, had not yet been made. He knew nothing of

* Geschichte der Deutschen Nation von Hermann Michael Richter, Berlin, 1882.

protoplasm, the cell-genesis, spontaneous duplication, evolution, certain phenomena detected by anatomists, the antiquity of man, supposed from human remains found in ancient caves and beneath deposits of rivers, etc. The loud report of these discoveries appall many timid Christians who have not had time to scrutinize for themselves. As Frederic's unbelief rested on no proof or argument, but was merely breathed in from his *environments*, it was not unnatural that, toward the close of his life, so acute a mind should reconsider the matter. Among other discoveries, he must have then discovered that his skepticism rested upon nothing. He was born at the commencement of what is called in Germany the period of enlightenment (*aufklärungs periode*). Newton had revealed the law of gravitation, which, strange to say, was hailed by many as an argument in favor of atheism. It excluded the idea of a God. The universe was without a beginning, without a creator, resting on itself, and maintaining itself in an eternal equilibrium. "I have carefully searched through all creation," said a distinguished scientist, "and could find no trace of a God." In other words: "I have carefully searched through the watch and could find no trace of a watch-maker." As the idea of a creator was thus demonstrated to be a childish error, into which mankind had fallen during its infancy, but which was now vanishing before the resplendent light of scientific discovery and the irresistible force of philosophic reasoning, those who continued to teach a divine revelation were branded either as ignorant fanatics or impudent hypocrites. The monstrous abominations of the Roman Church were confounded with the miracles of the Gospel, and Gibbon, Voltaire, and company, could see no difference between Paul before Agrippa and

the Roman priest who, for money, shows the blood of Jesus in a vial; between a little wave of the ocean or a candle-flame, and a human mind capable of producing the poetry of Shakespeare and David, or of making the discoveries of Copernicus and Kepler.

Frederic long floated with this stream, but some circumstances justify the belief that he at last changed or greatly modified his opinion on Christianity. Toward the end of his life, the Moravian brethren in Berlin addressed to him a letter containing the words: "Accept the mercies of Jesus Christ, and earnestly desire the Holy Spirit for your guide." He read the letter and said: "Give these people a civil answer; they certainly mean well to me."*

Old Ziethen.

Ziethen was, to the end of his life, the most beloved friend of his royal master. At dinner, he always sat next the king. One day after dinner, the old hero dropped asleep, a breach of etiquette which greatly shocked one of the officers of the court, who was about to awake him. But Frederic prevented

* There is a large class of Christians who have not yet seen any reason to doubt the divine authority of the Gospel as preached by Paul and John. Many are perfectly acquainted with all the modern scientific discoveries, and do not dispute the facts; yet they reject as illogical the skeptical theories founded on them. They believe in the law of gravitation, but they can not see how it disproves God. They ask, with the poet:

"How can a pre-Adamic skull,
Or any brain dissection,
Outweigh the proof, so clear and full,
Of Jesus' resurrection?"

They have carefully followed, and conscientiously and impartially examined, all the modern discoveries in their bearing upon the Holy Scriptures, yet they believe, with Shakespeare, that weighty reasons must give place to weightier, and that no reason has yet been presented to counterbalance the evidence and arguments in favor of Christianity. On reading the works of the modern materialists, they are ready to exclaim, with Voltaire, in a letter to Rousseau: "Never did a writer waste so much genius in an attempt to reduce us to beasts. I can not read your writings without feeling a tendency to get down on all fours!"

him, with the words: "Let him sleep. He has waked often enough for us." This old Prussian soldier gave his master, one day, a lesson.

The king having invited him to dinner on Good Friday, Ziethen asked permission to decline, on the ground that at this time he was always accustomed to take the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to pass the remainder of the day alone. A few days afterward, the king invited him again, and Ziethen found at the royal dinner-table at *Sans Souci*, a very gay and flippant society. As the wine flowed and the conversation became animated, the king suddenly addressed to Ziethen, on the subject of the Sacrament on Good Friday, a jest not to be repeated. It was received by the company with a general laugh. Ziethen rose from his seat, and having bowed low before the king, addressed to him the following words: "Your Majesty knows, that in war I have never feared danger; and that wherever it was required, I have risked my life for you and for the country. This feeling still animates me, and if it is of any use, and you command it, I will obediently lay my head at your feet. But there is One above, who is more than your Majesty, more than all men,—the Saviour and Redeemer of the world, who has dearly purchased salvation for us with His blood. That Holy Saviour I can not allow to be ridiculed in my presence, for in Him rests my faith, my trust, my hope in life and in death. He is our oldest and mightiest ally. In the strength of this faith, your brave army has courageously fought and conquered. If your Majesty undermine it, you undermine, at the same time, the welfare of the State. This is a true saying, indeed. May it please your Majesty to excuse my freedom." A death-like silence prevailed through the room.

The king, with genuine emotion, rose from the table, offered his right hand to the honest old general, laid the left on his shoulder, and said: "Happy Ziethen! I wish I could believe as you do. Hold fast your faith. It shall be done no more." Although dinner was only half over, the king gave the sign of dismissal to his guests. But to Ziethen, he said: "Come with me to my closet."*

Ziethen was, however, not the only sincere Christian in the crowd which surrounded Frederic. There were many others who feared the simpers and quips of unbelievers, as little as they did the bullets of the Austrians and Russians. Among these were: Schwerin, Fouqué, Christopher Ludwig von Stille, General of Cuirassiers; William Sebastian von Belling, General of Hussars; Frederic Christopher von Saldern, Commandant of Magdeburg; Moller, etc., etc. Indeed, the Prussian army, in the beginning of the Seven Years' War, was imbued with a deep religious spirit, as was seen after the Battle of Leuthen.

Frederic incognito.

Frederic, after his wars, once formed a project of making a journey *incognito* to France. He called himself Count Dufour, from Bohemia. Arriving at Strassburg, he hired rooms in the Raben Hotel, telling his host he was traveling for information, and would like to make the acquaintance of the officers of the place. A number were invited. Several declined, thinking it beneath them to accept the invitation of an unknown traveler, who might be, no one

* Ziethen gave utterance to the sentiment of thousands, who, in the social circle, are sometimes obliged to hear pleasant jests upon subjects to them, at least, sacred. He was a genuine soldier, not only of Frederic but of Christ, always foremost in the hour of danger; but he never appeared braver, and, perhaps, never rendered a more valuable service than when, in that circle of mockers, he uttered this modest and touching rebuke, which Frederic felt more deeply than any one else.

knows what. Those who accepted had a pleasant evening. They said the count showed much sense for a German, and spoke French extremely well. They became, at last, quite hand-and-glove together. The following morning, the officers called, took Frederic to parade, explained to him the military matters, which he was not supposed to understand, and presented him to Marshal de Broglie, who invited the company to dinner. It was only on the third day that a soldier, who had deserted from the Prussian army, suddenly cried out: "*Donner wetter! das ist der Alte Fritz!*" The report flew rapidly, and was soon brought to Broglie, who, respecting his *incognito*, sent a higher officer to show him the citadel, etc. Frederic, perceiving how the matter lay, made a particular call upon the marshal, and remained closeted with him for an hour.

Frederic meets the German Emperor.

In 1769, the Emperor of Germany, Joseph II., visited Frederic in the Episcopal Palace at Neisse, in Silesia. In the following year, Frederic returned his visit in Neustadt, in Moravia, near Austerlitz. With the Emperor Joseph, among others, was the General Laudon, the hero of Olmütz, Landshut, Schweidnitz, and most particularly Kunersdorf, where the reader will remember his cavalry almost cut Frederic's army to pieces. The Emperor Joseph conducted his guests to their lodgings, whence the party went to dine with the Emperor. Frederic received Laudon with particular attention. At the moment when the company sat down to dinner, Laudon's seat, which was opposite to that of Frederic, was vacant. "That is quite contrary to his usual custom," said Frederic. "Formerly, he used to arrive only too soon. May I be allowed to have him in this place next to me? I had much rather have him by

my side than opposite." On this occasion, Frederic always addressed Laudon as *Field-Marshal*, which rank he had not yet obtained. It was, however, immediately conferred upon him by the Emperor Joseph. At this interview, the partition of Poland was discussed between Joseph and Frederic.

The following circumstance, which appeared in print for the first time in 1875, is vouched for by the grandson of General v. Pfuel.

Frederic on his knees.

Some years after the termination of the Seven Years' War, Frederic came to Bielefeld and announced his desire to review the military force at that place. He would, he said, be on the ground at eleven o'clock in the morning. The garrison was under the command of General v. Pfuel. On the appointed day, the king arrived at the parade ground; but by a mistake of his own, instead of eleven he had arrived at ten o'clock. Not a soldier to be seen. In about half an hour, General v. Pfuel arrived with his troops and found the old king in a smoking rage. It was the custom of the monarch, when he addressed a subject, to use the third person. "The black devil take him!" said the king, sternly; "where has he been?" and without waiting for an answer, he continued: "On the tenth of the month he is to report himself to me at Potsdam. Forward!" Pfuel was too much frightened to utter a word. The king finished the parade without taking any more notice of him, and continued his journey. It was not long before his Majesty discovered his mistake, and repented of his harshness to a brave old soldier. He, however, said nothing. At the appointed day, General von Pfuel was at the king's palace in Potsdam, not in a very pleasing state of mind, expecting he knew not what. He

was agreeably surprised. The king received him with extraordinary kindness, and on dismissing him, said: "He is to dine with me to-day."

Pfuel found at the royal table a brilliant circle of savants and generals. The conversation at last turned upon the military campaigns of the king. "I should like to know, gentlemen," said Frederic, "if any of you here present have followed me from the beginning through all my wars?" There was only one who could answer affirmatively, and that was Pfuel. "Was he at the battle of Mollwitz?" asked the king, with friendly eagerness. "Yes, your Majesty, as a young ensign."—"He must give an account of what happened to him," said the king, with still greater marks of kindness. Pfuel gave a modest and clear account of his part in the battle, and of his whole military career. The company were interested, and the heart of the king completely won. As Pfuel took leave after dinner, his Majesty said: "He is to remain in Potsdam, and he has every day free *entrée* to me." Pfuel, with a very light heart, returned to his family, and thanked God that he had been saved from the threatened ruin. From that time, the friendship between the faithful soldier and the true-hearted king increased to such a degree that Pfuel enjoyed the right, not only to come into the palace when he pleased, but received the order to come every morning into the private royal cabinet, and that *unannounced.*

One morning Pfuel came, and having gently opened the door of the royal cabinet, started back and noiselessly withdrew. The old king was on his knees at prayer. Pfuel, hearing presently by the noise that the king had risen, entered. His Majesty received him with his usual kindness, and exchanged some words on ordinary matters.

He then said: "Pfuel, was *he* at the door just now?"—"Yes, your Majesty."—"Did he see?"—"Yes, your Majesty, with deep and solemn surprise and joy."—"So! Does he also pray?"—"Yes, your Majesty, from my youth I have never failed to pray every day, as we were accustomed to do in the house of my parents."—"But why did he say, with *surprise?*"—"Pardon, your Majesty, I rejoice to see that my king also bends his knees before God; but I have heard many things of your Majesty which seem not to harmonize with prayer."—"O," replied the king, hastily, "he means joking and mocking. He is quite right. That is unworthy. But in my youth I have seen a great deal of hypocrisy, and in that way I learned to mock. He is quite right. It is shameful. But, Pfuel, continue every day to pray; I will pray also."

War of the Bavarian Succession, 1778-1779.

In his last days, Frederic had another war. The line of the Bavarian Electors was extinct, and the Emperor Joseph II. advanced an old claim of Austria. Frederic presented a counter-claim. A Prussian army was marched to Bohemia to meet the Austrian force. There was, however, no battle, and no important result. Enlightened by the experience of the Seven Years' War, the two sovereigns, Maria Theresa and Frederic, arranged the matter by a private correspondence, proposed by the former. Both were drawing near their end, and had learned wisdom.

German League of Princes.

Just before Frederic's death, the Emperor Joseph II. now, after his mother's death, reigning alone, proposed new territorial arrangements in Europe, by which Austria was to receive all Bavaria. It was among Frederic's last acts to form the German League of Princes, in which Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, Baden, Mecklenburg,

Anhalt, and the smaller Thuringian States, stood arrayed against Austria. This measure defeated the plan of Joseph. It was a token of the ever-increasing disintegration of the Empire.

Death of Frederic the Great, at Potsdam, Aug. 17, 1786.

Frederic lived twenty-three years after the close of the Seven Years' War. A short time before his death, he had his chair, one afternoon, moved out upon the terrace of his palace, *Sans Souci*, and there, wrapped in a military cloak, sat an hour to enjoy the fresh air and watch the setting sun. After a long silence, he was heard to murmur, in a low voice, "*I shall soon be nearer to Thee!*" He died at twenty minutes past two in the night, sitting in his great arm-chair. As he breathed his last, the clock in his bedroom stopped, and remains to-day still pointing to the moment. He had built *Sans Souci* in 1745, just before the commencement of the Seven Years' War. It is a dangerous name to give even to a private house, still more to a palace, and rarely has it been more inappropriately bestowed than on the dwelling of Frederic the Great. He was completely broken down by heavy cares, and died less from age (he was only seventy-four) than from fierce wars, weighty labors, and deep emotions.

Thoughts on Frederic.

During the intervals of peace, he had devoted himself with genuine patriotism to the welfare of his subjects. He practiced strict economy, worked harder than any man in his kingdom, and followed the example of the Saxon Elector, Frederic the Wise, who declared: "*No ruler or king must indulge in a whole night's sleep.*" He governed with absolute despotism, controlled by an earnest sense of responsibility, and a firm desire to do what was right. His civil administration, like his military campaigns, was

a singular mixture of glaring blunders and extraordinary excellences. As he himself labored indefatigably in the performance of what he considered his duty, every *employé*, from the highest to the lowest, understood that he had to follow his example, or look out for the consequences. Well would it be for the constitutional monarchies and republics of our day, if all did their work as well as Frederic; but he was no friend of parliaments, electoral laws, public meetings, or impertinent newspapers. He used to have all his ministers, early every morning, drawn up before him like a class of school-boys, and if he found any had been negligent, he rapped him smartly on the shoulder with his cane, and said: "Take care what you do, or I send you to Spandau." Had he found in his government such characters as in our modern States occasionally spread themselves like green bay-trees, his cane would have been the lightest part in the punishment. His despotic rule, and that of his father, exercised a bad influence upon some of the other rulers of the falling Empire. Despotism became a fashion, and the old stick an instrument of government. Petty tyrants imitated Frederic's faults without possessing his virtues, practiced his despotism without his honesty, and displayed his mockery of religion without his good sense to become ashamed of it.

Among the blunders (for a time) of Frederic's internal administration, was an oppressive system of government monopoly, which impoverished the people without replenishing the treasury. The finances were placed under the French philosopher Helvetius. Coffee and tobacco in Prussia rose to three or four times their price in other States. This produced a class of speculators and swindlers, and a demoralizing system of contraband trade.

The following anecdote, referring to this period, showed that through all his mistakes Frederic maintained his place in the hearts of the people. He was, one day, riding up the Jaegerstrasse, in Berlin, when he perceived a crowd collected before a caricature of himself, holding on his knees a large coffee-mill. He stopped, heartily joined in the laugh, and perceiving that the picture hung too high upon the wall, said to his servant: "*Hang it lower that they may not dislocate their necks.*" But the servant had no opportunity to obey. The words had drawn from the crowd enthusiastic demonstrations of good humor and affection. The caricature was taken down and torn into a thousand pieces, and, as the king rode away, he was greeted with a loud and long hurrah for Old Fritz. Frederic was a friend to America. He negotiated a favorable treaty with the United States, and sent General Washington a sword, inscribed: "*From the oldest general to the greatest.*" Upon the Hessian troops crossing Prussian territory for the American War, he levied the same duty as that paid for cattle. Notwithstanding the wounds which the Seven Years' War had inflicted upon Prussia, the country, at his death, was in a prosperous condition. A surplus of seventy-two millions in the treasury; an army of two hundred and twenty thousand men; a population of six millions instead of two and a half; the revenue increased from twelve to twenty-two millions; the territory enlarged by East Friesland, Polish Prussia, and Silesia; and a commanding position among the great European powers. Frederic can not be compared, either as a sovereign or a man, with the Great Elector, who never made an unnecessary war, who devoted himself to the spiritual, as well as material improvement of his people, and who governed with calm

prudence and large wisdom. Nevertheless, Frederic had in him the elements of a great and good character. As a military leader, he ranks with Eugene of Savoy, Marlborough, Napoleon, and Wellington. The title *Great* comes to him from his indomitable energy and final success. He was, indeed, favored by circumstances, but so, also, were his enemies. He had for years all the combined armies of Europe against him, and he beat them. They tried to wrest Silesia from him, and they could not. With all his faults, his people loved him, and love him still.

At the close of his life, he said: "I would give up my most important battle, if I could bring back to my people the religion and morality which I found with them when I mounted the throne."*

* Apologie des Christenthums. By Luthardt. Leipsic, 1880.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789–1794.

FREDERIC WILLIAM II., nephew of Frederic the Great, and son of August William (who had disgraced himself at the battle of Kolin), was weak, sensual, and governed by mistresses and favorites. He squandered the treasures of the State in private debauchery at a moment when Prussia was entering into an ordeal as disastrous as that which marked the reign of George William of Brandenburg. Among his counselors were Luchesini, Wollner, Haugewitz. Prussia had, however, become influential in foreign affairs. The king protected Sweden from the encroachments of Denmark, guaranteed to the Porte the integrity of the Turkish Empire, and re-instated his brother-in-law, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had been driven out of that country. The latter enterprise was conducted by Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, who subsequently commanded the army of Frederic William II., as we shall presently relate, in the campaign of 1792, and afterward the army of Frederic William III., at Jena and Auerstadt. He was the son of Ferdinand Albert, Duke of Brunswick, who had the chief Prussian command on the Rhine during the Seven Years' War, who gained the great battle of Minden, and who died,

Frederic William II., fourth King of Prussia, 1786–1797.

Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick.

1780.* The chief events of Frederic William's reign, besides the already mentioned campaign of 1792, were the two final partitions of Poland. The first, by Frederic the Great (1772), had naturally prepared the Poles for a second. The appearance of a Russian army in Poland to suppress the constitution, caused an insurrection, commanded by Prince Poniatowsky and Kosciusko (1793). This led to the second partition. In 1794, Kosciusko headed a new revolution, which was finally suppressed by the Russian General Suwaroff, with merciless bloodshed. This brought about the third and last partition (1795).

Final suppression of Poland.

During the first fifteen years of the reign of Joseph II., the Imperial power remained in the hands of his mother, Maria Theresa. He himself was really Emperor, only from 1780 to 1790. He seems to have caught the inspiration of liberty from the rapidly approaching French Revolution. He had the idea, by a few strokes of his pen, to transform the old despotic Roman Catholic Austria into an ideal Imperial republic. This, he found, could not so easily be accomplished. He drew upon himself the hatred of the nobles and clergy, and at last, of the people themselves. His premature reforms threw every thing into confusion. Like a benevolent but unskillful physician, he offered his feeble patients rich food before they were ready to digest it. He presented the anomaly of a philanthropic and virtuous prince vainly endeavoring to abolish abuses and govern with equity. The old feudal privileges and oppressions which he had removed, were

Joseph II., German Emperor, 1765-1790.

* The fact that there were two distinguished Dukes Ferdinand of Brunswick causes more confusion to the reader, from the circumstance that both father and son served as officers of Frederic in the Seven Years' War.

finally restored amid the acclamations of the people. Several valuable reforms, however, remained. He died just as the French Revolution was breaking out.

He was followed by his brother, Leopold II., who reigned only two years. At Pillnitz (Saxony) a meeting took place between him and Frederic Augustus II., King of Saxony, and, at the same time, King of Poland, for the purpose of arranging a coalition between Prussia and Austria against revolutionary France. One of the objects of Leopold was to save his sister, Marie Antoinette, and her husband, Louis XVI. To this conference the King of Prussia brought with him his eldest son, Frederic William, afterward Frederic William III., a youth of twenty-two.

Leopold II., 1790-1792.

Among the causes of the French Revolution are the following:

Causes of the French Revolution.

I. The ruinous, disgraceful wars of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. The former sovereign had attempted to rob and bully Europe and been defeated, while under his successor, France had lost her military glory, her colonies, and her wealth.

II. The crimes of those sovereigns, including the Duke d'Orleans, regent during the minority of Louis XV.

III. The prodigality and immorality of the nobles and clergy.

IV. The extravagance of the kings (Louis XV. had added to the public debt one hundred million dollars, spent in debauchery too infamous to be described).

V. The despotism of the sovereigns (*L'état c'est moi*).

VI. The corrupt administration of justice. The office of judge was often a mere object of merchandise, bought by unprincipled adventurers as a financial speculation.

VII. The unfair taxation. While princes, nobles, and

clergy were enthroned upon privileges and immunities, the people were weighed down by obligations and compelled to render the most degrading services to their feudal lords. The taxes were farmed out to rapacious contractors, who paid a fixed sum to the government, extorted what they pleased, and became millionaires.

VIII. The sale of public offices to the highest bidder, and even the hereditary right to these offices. The population of France at that time was twenty-seven millions. About one hundred and fifty thousand persons had monopolized the right to all public offices and valuable appointments at the court, in the army, and in the church.

IX. The guilds exercised a tyranny without redress. The people were in a great degree excluded not only from public offices, but from the ordinary means of gaining their bread.

X. The game laws shamelessly sacrificed the poor man's property to the rich man's pleasure.

XI. The neglect of agriculture. The farmer was so heavily taxed that he realized only one twelfth of his profit.

XII. *The lettres de cachet.* During the latter part of the reign of Louis XV., a blank order called by this name could be begged or bought even by inferior *employés*, and at last by any private individual who had money or friends at court. The document was an order instantly to arrest and cast into the Bastile or some other dungeon, the person therein named. The order was left blank, to be filled up by the possessor with whatever name he might choose. Any person could be thus plunged into a dungeon without a moment's notice, without proof, without a just cause, without even an accusation, without the consent or even knowledge of a magistrate, and without

the least possibility of redress. He might thus remain buried alive to the end of his life, his friends not knowing the place of his imprisonment, or even whether he were imprisoned at all, whether he had been murdered or fallen victim to an accident.

XIII. The long line of oppressions, from time immemorial, inflicted by emperors, kings, popes, church, and state; by bishops, robber-knights, iron-clad barons and iron-hearted capitalists. A vast wave of hatred and vengeance had been long accumulating in the dark haunts of the poor, broken-hearted, helpless people. Their misery was generally laughed at by the upper classes, who called them in derision *Jacques Bonhomme*, as the people in Germany had been called *Poor Conrad*. Just as the Revolution was breaking out, and during a famine in Paris, the French minister, Foulon, said: "*If the canaille can not get bread, let them eat grass.*"

XIV. The infidelity of the great writers of England and France. During a large part of the reign of Louis XV. it became the fashion to say and write every thing that could be imagined against Christianity and the Creator. Men demanded a religion of nature. France carried the idea through by the guillotine, and got what she wanted. It may seem wrong to associate such elegant writers as Gibbon, Voltaire, etc., with miscreants like Marat, Danton, and Anacharsis Clootz. Nevertheless, they all labored together for the overthrow of Christianity; and they all sail down the stream of time in the same ship. The great history of Gibbon was published somewhat previously to the French Revolution, and no doubt exercised an influence in bringing it on.

XV. The *Dictionnaire Encyclopedique*, published by Diderot and d'Alembert, and numbering the principal

French writers among its contributors, formed altogether seventeen large volumes, and during about twenty-six years of the reign of Louis XV. (1751–1777) inflamed the nation with contempt for and hatred of the Christian religion. Nearly every article preached deism, materialism, or atheism.

XVI. The Roman Church. The people, including the great writers, demanded the abolition of Christianity, because they did not know what it was. They associated it with mummeries, hypocrisy, persecutions, *autos da fé*, etc. The followers of Christ had been driven out of the country or burned alive. The consequence was black atheism. Is it too much to say that a general demoralization must follow the extinction of religious belief? All nations and tribes have had some kind of religion, however low, which acted as a restraint. The savage immolates his victim to appease the wrath of a power superior to himself. The poor African has his fetish. The ancient Canaanitish mother brought her infant to Moloch. At the breaking out of the French Revolution, an immense number of the people had *nothing*. Good and bad had been indiscriminately swept away. All the old landmarks had been removed, and all which raised man above the beast had disappeared. Man can no more live and prosper without God, than nature without the sun. The mass of the French population fell into that state of putridity which marks, and will ever mark, godless empires in their period of dissolution. A widely circulated literature arose, directed not only against religion, but against the very idea of virtue. The whole country was inundated with obscene romances and illustrative engravings, which destroyed every sense of purity and every instinct of honor. Fabrics were erected for the

manufacture of engravings, and the writers and artists reached the highest point of popularity. Crebillon, Marquis de Sades (who died at last in the mad-house), De la Clos (a boon companion of Egalité), and a host of others, painted the vilest pictures of vice in the most vivid colors of imagination. All classes fed with avidity upon this poison. The young country maiden, the newly-married wife, the school-boy, the fashionable lady of high rank, called without a blush at the book-sellers for books and pictures too low to be named. Thus, while the king, the court, the nobility, and the clergy were carrying despotism to an extreme, were exhausting the public treasury, swelling the national debt, setting an example of licentiousness without bounds, and preparing in every possible way for the Revolution, the gifted writers were systematically removing all those moles and dikes which keep the turbulent sea of human passions from overflowing its banks.

XVII. The American War of Independence. The alliance with the United States of America cost Louis XVI. fourteen hundred million francs, at the moment of his greatest poverty. It also kindled the Revolution in his own kingdom. It saved the Thirteen Colonies, but it aided in destroying France.

The great Revolution broke out three years after the death of Frederic the Great, and lasted five years (from the meeting of the States General, May 5, 1789, to the execution of Robespierre, July 27, 1794). It influenced German affairs as much as the moon does the waters of our globe. We must, therefore, give some idea of those five years of madness and crime to such of our readers as have not sufficiently examined their real nature and effects.

At the close of the long reign of Louis XV., Louis

XVI., one of the most liberal, just, and virtuous of the French kings, ascended the throne. He found the treasury empty, and all the ordinary means of replenishing it exhausted. The public debt incurred, on the personal authority of the kings, was equal to twelve hundred million dollars, United States currency, while the annual deficit of the revenue was thirty-five millions. Louis understood the position, and placed himself at the head of the reform party; set the example in his household of retrenchment, economy, and morality; reduced the number of his guards, and attempted to remove various abuses. Among other things, he restored to their ancient authority the parliaments, a class of higher judicial tribunals, which Louis XV. had nearly suppressed. In short, he inaugurated an honest and progressive system of reform. These measures were opposed by the court party, by the clergy, sometimes by the parliaments themselves. Minister followed minister. Turgot, Malesherbes, Necker, Calonne, in vain tried to avert the ever-rising Revolution. Calonne made matters worse. He contracted heavy loans, and for some years supplied the government with ample funds, as a spendthrift, for a short time, maintains his family in splendor, by spending his capital. At last, his charlatanism could be concealed no longer. He had to confess that he had added about three hundred millions to the debt, and could get no more money. Riots took place. The crisis was seized by one of the most infamous characters, the Duke d'Orleans (Egalité), as an opportunity to advance himself. He gathered around him a band of revolutionists, by whose aid he hoped to accomplish the murder of the king and queen, and his own elevation to the throne. The blackest slanders against the king and

Louis XVI., 1774-1794.

queen were invented, and systematically circulated among the people. Successful efforts were used to keep the public mind in a state of excitement, and to defeat the efforts for reform.

Notables, 1787-1788.

The discovery of Calonne's extravagance, and the impending national bankruptcy, compelled the king to call together the Notables. For many centuries, the French monarchs had been accustomed, at intervals, to convoke an assembly, so called, for consultation on extraordinary occasions. It consisted of one hundred and forty members, principally nobles, with an infusion of clergy, appointed by the king. It was a grand assembly of narrow-minded persons. The country was drifting into a maelstrom, but the Notables cared nothing for it. They refused to tax the nobles, to surrender their privileges, or to admit reform. Two sittings exposed their incompetency, and the necessity for a more important assembly. They disappeared from the scene forever. A large number were shortly after guillotined.

States General, May 5–June 17, 1789.

The States General were a far more respectable body. An assembly of this name had been at long intervals occasionally called to vote extraordinary subsidies. It had not been convoked for one hundred and seventy-five years; in obedience to popular opinion, it now consisted of the three estates, namely, representatives of the nobles, clergy, and people. The members wore, as usual, the different costumes which for so many centuries had proclaimed them distinct, separate classes. The clergy appeared in their clerical robes. The nobles wore black velvet mantles, glittering with gold and lace, their hats adorned with plumes. The representatives of the people had no dis-

tinct uniform. The king opened the assembly. At the last meeting, 1614, in presence of the throne, the deputies had uncovered their heads, and spoke only on their knees. On the present occasion, when the king entered, they rose and put on their hats. We should, in our day, look with interest upon a good photograph of that assembly. There were many whom subsequent events clothed with strong interest. An immense number, including the king, were hastening to the guillotine. There were Mirabeau, with his great head and fiery eloquence; Bishop Gobel, on whose motion Christianity and God were subsequently abolished; the Abbé Sieyès, about to apply the match to the Revolution; Talleyrand, Volney, Philip d'Orleans; Danton, with his lofty stature and deep, sonorous voice; Robespierre, tender-hearted, incorruptible, shabby in his dress, because he devoted his limited earnings to the support of a sister. There was the honest and noble Lafayette, the friend of Washington, just returned from the American War, and among the spectators, Thomas Jefferson, an object of curiosity as the author of the *American Declaration of Independence* (afterward, twice President of the United States). Many able, wise, and honest men were there, representing the sound and virtuous part of the nation, not desiring a revolution, but seeking only the abolition of abuses. The elections for the States General had been managed by Necker. The nobles had three hundred representatives; the clergy, three hundred; the third estate, six hundred. To counterbalance this numerical inequality, it was intended that each estate should give one separate vote. A resolution was proposed, declaring that questions should be decided by a majority of the individuals composing the whole assembly. After violent debates during

several weeks, Sieyès (midnight, June, 1789) proposed that the third estate should declare itself a permanent National Constituent Assembly, that all taxes were illegal, except those voted by it, and that the other two estates should be invited to assist in the labors of the new assembly. Carried by acclamation. The first member of the other orders who passed over, was Egalité. He was followed by many others, among whom was Lafayette. The workers of discord and the lovers of peace were thus forced together along the irresistible current.

National Constituent Assembly, June 17, 1789—Sept. 30, 1791.

The people had now taken the government into their own hands. The States General had been suddenly transformed into a democratic parliament. There at last stood a nation freed from all restraint, drawn up in battle array against centuries of crime and oppression. There stood the representatives of downtrodden humanity in every age and country, demanding the common rights of man, and possessing power to enforce their demand. Had there been a Christian church and a moral, Christian people, France might have passed by a comparatively bloodless transition to prosperity and peace.

Events during the two years' session of the National Constituent Assembly.

In less than a month after the adoption of Sieyès' midnight motion, the people stormed the Bastile amid the acclamations of the whole town (July 14, 1789). Many royalists were murdered and their heads borne about on pikes. At the cry, "*À la lanterne*," many a poor fellow was seized in the street by the mob and hung upon a lamp-post. The Bastile key was sent to General Washington. Lafayette was appointed Commander-in-chief of the National Guard. Count d'Artois, brother of the king, fled the country. His example was immediately followed

by about seventy thousand persons. Great riots (October) by the starving people took place in Paris, instigated by the Jacobin Club. A crowd of thirty thousand men, women, and children often marched through the streets crying: "*Bread! bread! bread!*" Street orators inflamed their fury by declarations that the royal family at Versailles were reveling in feasts and meditating a suppression of the revolution by military force. A mob of ten thousand persons, among whom many frantic, bloodthirsty women in wild, disheveled costume, and various ringleaders of the Revolution in disguise, marched from Paris to Versailles, killed the guards at the gates, broke into the Constituent Assembly and thence into the royal apartment of the palace for the purpose of murdering the royal family. Marie Antoinette escaped by a private door. The arrival of Lafayette with his National Guards prevented the intended catastrophe; but the king and his family were obliged to leave Versailles for Paris, a drive of ten miles. The mob, bearing bloody heads upon pikes, led by a butcher, *Malliard*, called the *head-cutter*, accompanied the party as they passed slowly along. Occasionally a bullet whizzed over the royal carriage. On reaching the city, the cortege made its way toward the *Hôtel de Ville*, applauded by an audience of one hundred thousand persons. Pale, exhausted, the revolutionary cockade in his hat, the king addressed the crowd: "*I return with pleasure and with perfect confidence to my faithful people of Paris.*" "*The bull is loose*," cried Mirabeau, "*of course he will use his horns.*" This insurrection was the work of Egalité, who accompanied it in the disguise of an old woman. He hoped that the king and queen would be murdered, and he himself called to the throne. The Assembly soon fol-

The king's return to Paris.

lowed the royal family to Paris, a sinister change which brought it still more directly under the influence of the mob. A large building near the Tuileries, previously used as a riding-school, had been prepared for its reception. About two hundred members now abandoned the Assembly and the country. The *émigrés* generally congregated at Worms, Coblenz, and other neighboring places, where, by open attempts to enlist foreign powers in a war against France, they added fuel to the fire.

Death of Mirabeau, April 2, 1791.

Mirabeau, like most men of sense, soon became disgusted with the excesses of the Jacobins, and determined to arrest the Revolution, and save the king. He would have been murdered, and the tree was marked upon which he was to be hanged by the mob, when he died, and with him vanished the last earthly hope of the royalists. The news of his danger was received by the country as a great national calamity. Twenty thousand persons waited around his house the moment of his death. After his last night of suffering, he said to his physician: "*I shall die to-day. Only one thing remains. Bring perfumes! crown me with flowers! Surround me with music, that I may sweetly enter into that slumber from which there is no waking!*"

The Clubs.

The Clubs had now become a terrible power. In one (Club Breton), the midnight motion of Sieyès had originated. The two principal ones were the Cordeliers and the Jacobins, so called from the buildings where they met. Most of the members (but not all) were red-hot revolutionists, or sordid mercenaries, murdering for pay. In these clubs might be found the worst men of that period. They often met in the night, fifteen hundred at a time. Their names can not be re-

peated without a shudder by any one acquainted with the character and deeds of most of them: Marat, Danton, Robespierre, Hebert, Henriot, Camille-Desmoulin, Santerre, Fabre d'Eglantine, Billaud-Varennes, Fouquier-Tinville, Barère, Chaumette, Collot d'Herbois, Rossignol, Anacharsis Clootz, Gobel, and the creatures of these creatures. They were generally the dregs of human nature; but, as in an inundation which has swept away a village, dissimilar objects float together, so we here find, side by side, the most opposite characters borne along by the stream. Among the members of the Jacobin were Carnot and the Duke de Chartres, afterward King Louis Philippe. We can only suppose that *Carnot* acted with the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety, in the hope to save the country, or perish with it. What a picture, a midnight meeting of these men; without religion, morality, or mercy,—no God, no future; bloody-minded, burning with hate, with the fanaticism of ignorance and the almost preternatural power of insanity, working for the violent and sudden overthrow of the whole existing civilization—Church, State, science, the principle of property, marriage, all must go down in one common wreck, and every one suspected of disapproving must go down with them; absolute masters of the life and property of every human being in France; with a burning faith in robbery and murder as the only means of regenerating mankind; their programme to guillotine from three to four hundred thousand, and brooding together in the night over lists of proscription, arrests, and secret assassinations of persons who were to be hanged by the mob. These were the saviors of mankind. By them the vast Revolution was organized and maintained at white heat, as the furnace is kept up by the bellows of the blacksmith. Here

were decreed affiliated clubs and revolutionary committees, extending over all France.

Flight of the king, 1791.

The king found that, even in the Tuileries, he was a prisoner. One morning, having ordered his carriage for a drive to St. Cloud, the watchful Jacobins caused it to be surrounded by a mob, and the king was obliged to return to the palace. Louis now determined upon a plan of escape, and succeeded, with his family, in reaching the town of Varennes, about one hundred and fifty miles from Paris, and three fourths of his journey to the frontier. He was there arrested and compelled to return. As he re-entered the city, the whole population gathered to behold him. One man kissed his hand, but was immediately torn to pieces by the mob. That the nation was not in favor of this kind of revolution may be seen, among other things, by the generosity with which the Constituent Assembly treated the unfortunate monarch after his attempted flight. It not only released him from arrest, but restored him to a considerable degree of power. It voted him a civil list of five million dollars, and one million to the queen. This was noted by the Jacobins, and many of the voters for it were afterward executed.

Work of the National Constituent Assembly.

The National Constituent Assembly closed October, 1791. It had been compelled to follow the popular passion. It abolished all abuses (torture among others), all privileges, exemptions, tithes, titles of nobility; the censorship of the press, etc.; liveries, armorial ensigns, and all the proud heraldic blazonry of the nobles; it extinguished the right of primogeniture and bestowed that of association and speech; it gave a broad system of representation; its purpose was to secure to every citizen liberty, equality before the

law, and all those inherent rights which reason and religion claim for every human being. It decreed equal taxation, threw open all military and civil offices to every citizen; decreed equality of coins, weights, and measures; established simple and sensible judicial forms. It bestowed absolute liberty of conscience and the right of trial by jury, and broke up the ancient system of provinces. France had been, till then, divided into thirty-three provinces, each with its own governor, enjoying a certain degree of independence and, so to speak, *State Rights.* These provinces now disappeared, and France, instead of the old historic divisions: Normandy, Brittany, Champagne, Lorraine, Franche Comté, etc., was divided into eighty-three departments, subdivided into districts, each district into cantons, each canton into counties or communes. Forty-eight thousand communes or municipalities were thus created; a machine which could be easily worked by the central power. That lofty, feudal edifice, the old despotic French monarchy, had fallen to the ground, and in its place stood a European republic far more democratic than that which had just issued from Washington, Hamilton, and Adams. Many of these changes were righteous, and the results remain to-day as the basis of civil and religious liberty in France. But the nation, like the Emperor Joseph II., was obliged to learn that such a complete transformation can not be effected in a moment. Amid the just reforms, moreover, were various innovations which could not be realized. Property, for instance, was declared only a temporary right. The power to inherit and to make a will was withdrawn. Those and several others were violations of what the world has long considered private rights, which the fathers of our American Constitution never thought

of, and which Louis XIV. would not have dared to suggest.

Before separating, the Assembly passed a fatal resolution, that none of its members could be elected to the Legislative Assembly which was to follow. The best men, who wished the Revolution terminated and its benefits consolidated, were thus excluded at the moment when most needed, and the whole government power was transferred to new men, elected by the leaders of the Revolution. This decree was proposed by Robespierre. Two hundred members of the Assembly which passed it subsequently fell victims to the Revolution.

Constitution of 1791.

The Constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly stipulated only a single chamber, and stripped the king of almost every remnant of royal power. It left him, however, a veto by which he could postpone the execution of a decree of the Assembly for four years. The members were finally dismissed by a speech from the king, received with loud and affectionate applause. The largest and best part of the nation now hoped and believed the Revolution closed.

Legislative Assembly, Oct. 1, 1791—Sept. 20, 1792.

The Constituent Assembly was immediately followed by the Legislative Assembly, the nominal object of which was to enact the laws necessary to carry out the new Constitution of 1791. The number of members was seven hundred and forty-five. The election had been managed by the Jacobins. The Assembly was a kind of chemical extract. The Revolution had descended lower. The worst men had sent their worst men. The moderate element was in the minority, and helplessly in the hands of desperate enemies within and without. The Assembly at once divided into three parties, the Mountain, thus called

from their elevated seats (Jacobin desperadoes); the Plain (representatives, though powerless, of the mass of the nation); and the Girondists (Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, etc., deputies of the department of the Gironde), seeking national liberty, without excesses. The Girondists and a large portion of the Plain were, during the Revolution, guillotined by the Mountain.

Events during the Legislative Assembly.

The new Assembly immediately passed two decrees:

I. All priests not swearing to the new Constitution to be arrested, and their property confiscated.

II. All *émigrés* not returning to France before January 1, 1792, declared traitors, condemned to death, and to confiscation of property.

These two decrees were vetoed by the king. The vetoes were represented by Egalité and his creatures as an insult to the nation. The king and queen were rendered more and more objects of execration. Great mobs paraded the streets. The agitators, by fiery addresses and Revolutionary songs, increased the excitement. Everywhere the cries resounded: "*Down with Monsieur Veto! down with Madame Veto!*" The consequences soon appeared in a new insurrection. A mob of fifty thousand, led by Santerre, Legendre, Rossignol, etc., ruffians of the true stamp, broke into the Legislative Assembly. Here scandalous scenes showed how completely the Assembly was in the hands of the Mountain. The mob then rushed to the Tuileries, broke into the palace, and seizing the person of the unfortunate monarch, demanded that he should withdraw the two vetoes. Louis refused. For several hours, they tormented him with every species of threat and insult; placed a red Jacobin cap upon his head, compelled him to drink brandy out of a dirty cup,

and shrieked in his ears: "*Vive les sans-culottes! No more priests, no more aristocrats!*" Louis bore this trial with patience, and steadily refused to withdraw the vetoes. He was at last relieved by a company of the National Guard.

War with Austria, 1792.

The band of men leagued together to keep the Revolution burning, determined to provoke a war as a mode of increasing their power. Strange to say, the Girondists also pressed for war, under the idea that it would arrest the Revolution. Causes for war were not wanting. Thousands of *émigrés* on the frontier were openly soliciting the aid of foreign powers. Prussia and Austria were making warlike preparations. Large bodies of German troops had been moved to the frontier. The Assembly compelled Louis to demand an explanation of the German government. During the correspondence which followed, Leopold died.

Death of Leopold II., March, 1792.

Dissolute in his private life, his character was mild, and there is some reason to think, considering the danger to the French royal family, that he might have hesitated to enter into the war. But it was written otherwise.

Francis II., last German Emperor, 1792-1806.

His eldest son, Francis I., was immediately elected his successor (Francis I., as Emperor of Austria; Francis II., as German Emperor). He was last of the long line of sovereigns who had reigned through a thousand years. At Frankfort-on-the-Main stands an ancient building, the Rathhaus, in one of the halls of which, the Römersaal, it was the custom to place the full length portrait of each Emperor immediately after his death. Leopold's portrait occupied the last but one. Francis II. filled the last. To the warlike

dispatch of the French Legislative Assembly, Francis II. replied: he would withdraw the German forces from the frontier only on the condition that the French monarchy should be re-established, as it had been in 1789. France now declared war.

Prussian campaign of 1792.

The Duke of Brunswick, Charles William Ferdinand (the son), was appointed Commander-in-chief of the invading force (forty-five thousand Prussians, sixty-five thousand Austrians), and marched his army into Champagne.

Manifesto of July 25.

He first issued a manifesto at Coblenz, which threatened France: *If the royal family were insulted, Paris should be leveled to the ground. Every member of the Legislative Assembly should answer for the king's safety with his head.* In justice to the Duke, it must be stated that he himself neither wrote nor approved this manifesto, although he signed it. He gave his signature only on the condition that the two chief threatening clauses should be struck out. A copy was secretly sent to Paris without the promised erasures, and published in the *Moniteur*. This was the work of the royal *émigrés*. The French were not ready, and for a short time the Prussians had it all their own way. Brunswick's intention was to march directly to Paris, cut off the supplies, and reduce the city by famine. Had this plan been carried out, it is obvious that the king and his family would have been immediately massacred. The delay was very distasteful to the Prussian officers, who anticipated a delightful as well as a glorious campaign; another steeple-chase of Rossbach. The allies took the fortresses of Longuevie and Verdun. Here the army stopped. Strange causes were at work to prevent its advance. Sieyès had secretly suggested to the Duke

a new idea, namely: That in certain contingencies he, Brunswick himself, might be called to the French throne. Again: The French General Dumouriez had secretly communicated to Frederic William II. that he, Dumouriez, intended soon to join the allies against the Revolution. It is certain that Dumouriez had this intention, and only waited a favorable opportunity to carry it out. Thirdly: Louis himself had written to Frederic William that the advance of his army endangered the lives of all the royal family. A fourth cause of delay was an increased jealousy between Austria and Prussia, and fifthly, another cause. Frederic William was far more interested in the final partition of Poland than in rescuing a French king and an Austrian princess, or in restoring order to France. The allied army thus remained stationary till it was too late to advance, until the French army was prepared to oppose its way. For although Dumouriez intended to betray the Jacobins, his head would have soon fallen had he not kept up appearances.

At Valmy, a meeting of the two armies took place, September 20. The conflict convinced Brunswick that the time for marching upon Paris had gone by. News now arrived that France had proclaimed the republic, and that England and Holland both refused to join the coalition. An armistice was concluded at Valmy, September 29, 1792. The campaign had failed, and the Prussian army retreated. They were allowed to retire unmolested, on surrendering Longuevie and Verdun. The Jacobins afterward caused twelve young girls to be guillotined, for having danced with Prussian officers during the occupation of Verdun. The retreat was as disastrous as disgraceful. Heavy rains set in. The roads became impassable; no arrangements had been made for supplies.

Instead of bread, the soldiers ate unripe fruit, and instead of champagne, drank muddy water. They were without great-coats and shoes. The fourth of their numbers were carried off by dysentery. Here and there one blew out his brains. The Jacobins looked on with rapturous triumph, and formed bolder plans. Frederic William II. stopped at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and resumed his dissolute life. His son, the Crown-prince Frederic William, accompanied his father on this unfortunate expedition, which did not at all increase his taste for war.

Dumouriez.

Dumouriez, notwithstanding several victories over the allies, was really disgusted with the Jacobins, who suspected him of treason. He seems to have been engaged in the Girondist conspiracy to raise Egalité to the throne as protector. Four commissioners, members of the National Convention (which had succeeded the Legislative Assembly), arrived in his camp, and summoned him to appear at the bar of the Convention. He seized and delivered them to the Austrians, who kept them several years in prison, and subsequently exchanged two of them against the young princess, daughter of Louis XVI. Dumouriez's troops were, however, too Jacobin for him to trust them. In company with the future king, Louis Philippe, he abandoned the army and country. His soldiers fired at them as they went.

The Manifesto in France.

The midnight assembly of the Jacobin Club had been brooding over plans of such a nature that even those desperadoes hesitated; but the appearance of the manifesto settled the question. It was just what they wanted. The French government and nation read it with fury. It paralyzed the already feeble moderate party. It extinguished the

monarchy. It rendered possible the most frightful excesses. It was the death-warrant of the king and queen. The black flag was raised. The Assembly declared the country in danger. The mad bull now used his horns, indeed.

Storming of the Tuileries, August 10, 1792.

An infuriated mob was summoned to storm the Tuileries. Not only Paris, but Brest and other sea-ports, even criminal prisons, were swept of their ruffians, sailors, galley-slaves, convicts. At midnight (August 9), the alarm was sounded. All the bells of the town pealed. Paris waited with terror. The hordes were arranged in a kind of military order. Danton, in person, led the attack. The first visit was to the Hôtel de Ville. The municipal counsel was deposed, and a new one formed of the most abandoned miscreants, Billaud-Varennes, Hebert, etc. The cry was then raised, "*To the Tuileries!*" The mob, bearing the red flag, advanced and stormed the palace. It was defended by about seven hundred, some say thirteen hundred, Swiss Guards, six hundred mounted gensd'armes, a number of armed noblemen who had rallied around the king, and a portion of the National Guard. The queen, with the spirit of her mother, was in favor of fighting the battle out; but the National Guard having joined the people, the king, deeming resistance hopeless and to prevent unnecessary bloodshed, fled with his family to the hall of the Legislative Assembly, a short distance from the palace. Here they remained sixteen hours. As the thunder of cannon directed against the palace, and the ample volleys of musketry by which it was answered, shook the hall, the Assembly passed a resolution that the king should issue an order commanding the guard to abstain from returning the fire of the people. The

king, alas! signed the order, which, with military subordination, was immediately obeyed, although the Swiss were successfully defending their post. The assailants remarking that the volleys of the defenders had suddenly ceased, with loud hurrahs rushed into the building, massacring every one they met. The Swiss were cut to pieces, almost to a man; not, however, without, at last, resuming their weapons with terrible effect.* The slaughter of the defenseless royalists continued during the whole night. Several thousand persons were slain. The Amazon *Terroigne*, and other women, inflicted horrible mutilations upon the bodies of the dead. An attempt to burn and utterly destroy the palace, from some cause, failed. The jewel-office was pillaged. All the treasures disappeared. It was never known into whose hands they fell.

Napoleon.

This insurrection was tranquilly observed by a young officer, who declared it: "*A hideous and revolting spectacle;*" and added: "*A few volleys of grape would soon send these wretches flying.*" This was Napoleon Bonaparte, then aged twenty-three.

The new Revolutionary Municipal Council (Billaud-Varennes, Hebert, and others) now demanded from the Assembly the deposition of the king, the imprisonment of himself and family, and the convocation of a National Convention. The decree was passed. The Jacobin Club had taken a bold step forward. The government was now seized by Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, a Triumvirate which threw Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus into the shade. The Legislative Assembly decreed the imprisonment of the king in the Luxemburg palace; but

* The white marble wounded lion at Lucerne was erected by the Swiss, in commemoration of the fidelity of their countrymen on this night.

the Triumvirate was strong enough to substitute a more cruel resolution, according to which Louis, the queen, their young son and daughter, were sent to the Temple, and placed in a dilapidated small room of the tower. In this prison, the king remained five, and the queen fourteen, months.*

Lafayette.

On the declaration of war against Austria, Lafayette had been appointed commander of one of the armies stationed at Sedan. The Jacobins hated and feared him. He had once fired upon and killed forty persons of a mob sent by the Jacobins to seize and murder the king, and he now endeavored to lead his army to the rescue of the royal family. His troops refused obedience. The Legislative Assembly set a price upon his head. Like Dumouriez and Louis Philippe, he was obliged to seek safety in flight. On passing the frontier, he was arrested by Austrian soldiers, and Francis kept him four years prisoner in Olmütz, where he would have perished, although his release had been earnestly requested of Francis by Wilberforce, Fox, and President Washington. An intimation from Napoleon (after Campio Formio) was more successful, and Lafayette, one of the noblest and purest characters of his time—a far higher character than Francis—was restored to freedom.

Revolutionary Tribunal, Aug. 17, 1792.

The Revolutionary Tribunal was now decreed for the trial of political offenders. Domiciliary visits took place day and night. Thousands were arrested as aristocrats, royalists, *contre revolutionaires*, and *moderes*.

The Jacobin Club, the municipality, Danton, etc., had been long laboring with a new plan, which the late

* The Temple had been originally a monastery of the Order of the Templars. It has now disappeared.

events gave it strength to bring forth. The object was to paralyze with terror, not only France, but the enemies of France abroad. The prisons were filled. Their tenants must make way for new prisoners. The work commenced September 2, and *lasted five days and nights.* Between two and three hundred cut-throats, paid and supplied with food and drink, entered the Paris prisons and slaughtered, at the least estimate, ten thousand persons, among them the most distinguished men and women of France. The victims were at first slain by the ax, the musket, the club; but this took too much time and was too fatiguing; so at last crowds were tied together and shot to pieces by grape. The murderers drank and murdered, murdered and drank. Some incidents took place too frightful to be related. Those which marked the massacre of the female prisoners of *La Salpetrière* we pass in silence. These atrocities were called the *Septembrisades.* They were perpetrated openly, amid the loud continual pealing of all the city bells. The Legislative Assembly was in session, and passed the time in discussing a law to regulate the currency (which they never regulated). Marat shrieked: "*That is the only way to save France!*" He called upon the provinces to follow the example, which some of them did. The property of the victims was confiscated. The municipality of Paris reaped a golden harvest.

September massacres, 1792.

Now uprose the National Convention. The Legislative Assembly had drawn the country down, but not far enough. Each plan, successfully executed, emboldened to darker plans. The National Convention was brought together for the purpose of executing the king, the queen, the

National Convention, Sept. 21, 1792 — Oct. 26, 1795.

royal family, and all the upper classes. This was the under-thought of the leaders. The law of the Constituent Assembly, which rendered all its members ineligible to the Legislative Assembly, had excluded from the latter body many incendiaries, without whose aid the great aim could not be accomplished. The nation had not conceived the idea of executing its sovereign. For the contemplated murder, the votes were wanted of such patriots as Robespierre, Egalité, Danton, and others. To the National Convention everybody was eligible. The Jacobins, of course, had a majority. They were backed by forces on the outside; the clubs; the National Guard, now commanded by the vilest wretches; and a ferocious mob, paid with money and brandy, and looking forward to new deeds, like the storming of the Tuileries and the Septembrisades. The Convention consisted of seven hundred and fifty members. It immediately proceeded to business; abolished the monarchy, proclaimed the republic, and threw down the war-gauntlet to all the governments of the world, by a decree inviting all peoples to revolution, and promising military aid. On receiving this news, the principal governments joined the existing coalition of Prussia and Austria against France.

Trial of the king, Jan. 20, 1793.

The king and his family, as prisoners in the Temple, had been subjected to a premeditated course of cruelty, under the charge of a miscreant, Santerre, a brewer.* The unfortunate monarch was hastily brought before the Convention on the charge of treason. There is not the least reason to doubt that the majority of the Convention and the nation de-

* Santerre contrived to sneak through the Revolution in safety, and died during the Empire. Napoleon, once hearing that he was trying to effect a rising of the people in his quarter, sent him this message: "Upon the least disturbance, I will have you instantly shot!" Not a mouse stirred.

sired to save him; but the ringleaders were determined that he should die. Robespierre proposed to kill him at once. The trial was a mockery to blind public opinion. The Jacobin bullies dominated the Convention. If a member made a remark, which looked like reason or mercy, he heard threats and curses from the galleries, and, on leaving the hall, was greeted with cries, "*À la lanterne! à la guillotine!*" The members always sat armed. According to a law of the Legislative Assembly, a sentence of death could be pronounced only by a majority of two thirds. The Jacobins now forced from the Convention a decree that, in the present case, a condemnation might be obtained by a simple majority. As the trial proceeded, a member, La Juinais, proposed that the prosecution be abandoned. "*You can not*," he said, "*at the same time, be accusers and judges!*" This brought forth cries of fury: "*Away with the perjured deputy! Down with the traitor! Down with the king! Down with his creatures!*" Louis had three courageous defenders, Malesherbes, Desèze, and Tronchet. They warned the Convention that it would be itself summoned before the bar of history, and acquitted or condemned according to its present action. Robespierre replied in the spirit of a vindictive sophist. "*St. Just*," says Cantu, "*spoke like a cannibal.*"

The voting.

There were two votings. The first, on the question: "Is he guilty?" The Girondists would gladly have acquitted, but they had leagued themselves with the Revolution, in the hope of becoming its masters; they now found themselves its slaves. Of seven hundred and twenty-one votes, six hundred and eighty-three declared the king guilty. A member proposed an appeal to the people; rejected by a majority of

one hundred and forty-two. The second voting was upon the question: "*What shall be his punishment?*" It lasted nearly twenty-four hours. Although the law had been altered to a simple majority, it was doubtful during nearly the whole voting whether this simple majority could be obtained. Special measures had, therefore, been taken. The *entrées*, corridors, and galleries were filled, and the building surrounded by paid ruffians, armed, drinking, threatening, blaspheming, jesting, impatient for action. Among them, many wild, furious women. The voting commenced at ten in the evening, and lasted all that night and the following day, till ten P.M. The hall was dimly lighted. Each voter appeared at the calling of his name, mounted the tribune, spoke the word "Life" or "Death," and added any remark he might deem proper. A profound silence of intense interest on the one side, and terror on the other, broken only by execrations from the galleries against each member who voted life.

Let us for a moment imagine this scene.

Robespierre.—An insignificant, slight figure, carefully dressed, mounts the tribune, and a shrill, discordant voice is heard: *Death!*

Carnot.—A sad-looking man votes. *Death.* He adds a few words. "In my opinion, both justice and policy require the death of Louis; but no duty ever weighed so heavily on my heart as that which I now perform."

Danton.—The giant commander of the storm on the Tuileries, with a bold demeanor and a bloated face, strides through the hall and mounts the tribune: "Death to the tyrant! Let his head fall! Tyrants are vulnerable only in the head."

Egalité.—This name is received with a movement of expectation. He is a cousin of Louis. He will vote *Life.*

A man, ostentatiously clothed in the garb of a *sans-culotte*, ascends the tribune, his face marked by debauchery: "Convinced that all opposed to liberty ought to die, I vote *Death*."

Many others follow. Many vote for life, with some modification, as imprisonment, postponement of execution.

Boissy d'Anglas.—A noble looking, venerable old man: "*Life*, and an appeal to the people." Murmurs and curses.

Legendre.—A butcher, a coarse ruffian, ascends with a proud air. He is received with applause from the galleries. It was he who had set the red cap on the king's head. "*Death*, instant death. I propose that his body be cut into eighty-four pieces, and a piece presented to each department." (This gentleman, in 1797, turned royalist and was elected member of the Council of Five Hundred.)

Vergniaud.—He intended, he had even promised, to vote *Life*. When he finds himself face to face with these brigands, he votes *Death*, with an appeal to the people. His example is followed by forty-five of his party, with the conviction that if the king were acquitted, not only they and the Convention, but the king himself would be massacred. This was an obvious consideration, but it did not influence every one. Of the seven hundred and twenty-one voters, three hundred and sixty voted for life, adding the words, imprisonment or with banishment, etc. Louis was thus condemned by a majority of one. The death decree was carried by terror and fraud against the will of the nation, and even of the Convention. The execution was a murder.

The votes in his favor did not save the king. A ma-

jority of votes would not have saved him. His death was determined upon by the midnight votes in the Jacobin Club. Many of the voters in his favor died on the scaffold, but their votes were not thrown away. They saved the honor of France. They showed how many Frenchmen in that dark hour were neither fanatics nor cowards. They inspired, and still inspire, respect for the French nation. Our mortal life is not the highest good. "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it."

Execution of the king, Jan. 21.

The condemnation was pronounced January 20. The execution was appointed for the very next day. A request of Louis for a respite of three days was refused. He slept quietly during the night, and in the morning, accompanied by his confessor, Edgeworth, he mounted the scaffold. His bearing was dignified and serene. He attempted to address a few words to the spectators: "Frenchmen! I die innocent. I forgive my enemies." * * * At this moment, Santerre ordered the drums of the National Guard to beat. The victim was seized and prostrated. Edgeworth cried: "*Son of St. Louis! ascend to heaven!*" The blade fell. The head was held up to view. The women whom Robespierre had sent to surround the scaffold screamed: "*Vive la République!*" Crowds rushed to the spot and laved spikes, swords, handkerchiefs, etc., in the flowing blood. "*Now*," cried Marat, "*we have burned our fleet!*"

The historian, Sybel, says: "On the day of his execution, Louis was the only human being in Paris who possessed his soul in peace. The moderate Revolutionists writhed under the stings of conscience. The Girondists felt that their mean acquiescence had only precipi-

tated their own ruin. The Jacobins gnashed their teeth with rage as they perceived that the whole world turned from them with horror. On the day of the execution, all the shops of Paris remained closed. The city lay silent in deep consternation. The theaters, by command, were opened in the evening, but they were empty."

Provinces of France during the Reign of Terror.

The leaders of the Revolution now saw that the nation was against them. They had gone too far to retreat. Their only safety was to go forward and carry on the Revolution by destroying all its enemies. They could not arrest it without their own destruction.

A diabolical logic demonstrated the necessity of the "Reign of Terror." Before describing the events of this period in Paris, we glance at the provinces. The government of France now consisted of the Committee of Public Safety, nine members, Robespierre at the head. Among the members were Barére, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and other creatures of Robespierre. Here we find also Carnot (as War Minister). The guillotine was not now in the hands of justice, but in the hands of crime. The convicts were on the bench. The judges were in prison. Robespierre had attained his object. He was in fact sole dictator in Paris and over all France. He sat upon the throne of Louis XIV., and with greater power. The whole country was covered with a net-work of Revolutionary committees. These were his eyes gazing into the interior of every family. The allies were carrying on the foreign war victoriously. Carnot called out every able-bodied young man of France, and fourteen great armies were soon in the field.

In the provinces there was a bold opposition. In La Vendée and Brittany, three or four heroic leaders rose in

insurrection at the head of fifty thousand peasants and nobles. Some of the principal towns, among which were Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons, defied the Jacobins, and put some of their bloody commissioners to death. The Convention sent new commissioners, each with a military force, to suppress and punish in the Jacobin style: Tallien to Bordeaux; Carrier to Nantes; Charrier, Collot d'Herbois, and Fouché, to Lyons; and Lebas to Arras, where he decimated the country. A Jacobin army was about to occupy Toulon, when that town surrendered to the British squadron, commanded by Admiral Hood. It was to get back Toulon from the English that Napoleon was subsequently sent upon his first military mission.

The Vendée Insurrection.

Lyons held out nearly three months against a bombardment with red-hot shot, and yielded at last only to famine. The raving commissioners attempted to blot the town from the face of the earth, and to abolish its name from the memory of man. They reveled in massacres. Forty to sixty a day were guillotined. Twenty-five thousand houses were blown into the air. The number of prisoners soon increased beyond the powers of the guillotine. Collot d'Herbois, who for six months had chief authority, gnashed his teeth with rage. He cried: "*Too slow! too silent! The vengeance of the country must strike like lightning, and resound like thunder!*" In his report to the Convention were the following words: "The guillotine does not move rapidly enough, so I have cannonaded with grape. Houses with the mine; men with grape." Sometimes a hundred victims, chained together, were thus *mitraillés*."

Lyons.

The commissioners announced to the Convention, in one of the dispatches of Collot d'Herbois: "The corpses

of the Lyonese floating down the Rhone may warn the Toulonese of their approaching fate."*

In his way of living, Collot d'Herbois assumed a kind of oriental grandeur. Very few could obtain an audience, and only with great difficulty. The visitor was marched through a long suite of apartments before he reached the hall of reception. He was then ordered to remain fifteen or twenty paces distant from the throne, while two grenadiers, their fingers on the triggers of their cocked muskets, kept their eyes fixed steadily upon him. Petitions for mercy were received with jests and cutting sarcasms. The great potentate dined sumptuously in company with courtesans. During the dinner, instead of music they often heard the thunder of the cannonade and shrieks of terror from the place of execution. The dinner was sometimes suspended for a moment, in order to sign new death-warrants. Collot d'Herbois and Fouché liked to witness the executions, as one goes to the theater. A hundred chained victims blown to pieces rivaled the exhibitions of the Roman amphitheater. Opera-glasses were used to obtain a better view of the details.

War of the Vendée.

In the Vendée, the royalists continued to resist under La Rochejaquelein, Bonchamps, Stofflet, Charette, Cathelineau, and others, and rashly proclaimed the young prince (then confined in the Temple) as Louis XVII. The war kindled the neighboring provinces of Anjou and Brittany. The royalists were at last defeated, and the republicans glutted their vengeance with ruthless massacres.

Nantes, at the mouth of the Loire, was committed to Carrier, for blood-thirstiness, perhaps, the culminating character of the Revolution. He murdered, not from

* Toulon is at a considerable distance from the mouth of the Rhone.

fear, jealousy, and hate alone, but for simple pleasure, and without judicial proceedings. Ten thousand persons at one time were packed in a vast warehouse for execution, waiting only till he could decide upon the most convenient way of killing them. The lantern, the musket, the guillotine, the mitraillarde, were too slow and old-fashioned. Then there was the trouble of burying. So the *noyades* were invented. A hundred victims at a time were crowded into large canoes, constructed for the purpose, with valves. These boats at midnight were drawn out into the deepest part of the Loire; the valves were opened, and with a wild shriek the human cargo went down. These noyades were humorously called baptisms. Cantu relates that several thousand children (orphans of executed parents), who had been taken under the protection of the benevolent inhabitants of Nantes, were slaughtered or drowned with the rest. To some one who interceded for them Carrier replied: "*Bah! Young vipers must be crushed with the old ones!*" The number of persons killed by Carrier is estimated differently from fifteen thousand to thirty thousand.

Nantes and the Noyades.

After the downfall of Robespierre, Carrier was denounced. The Convention recalled him, and handed him over to the guillotine (1794).

A commissioner, Achard, wrote to a friend: "Yesterday I saw two hundred and nine executed. A majestic spectacle! a rapture of joy! We have already slaughtered five hundred. Twice as many are waiting. They will soon be finished; then forward!"

Achard.

In July, 1793, Paris was under the government of the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of Public Safety. Marat declared that two hundred and eighty thou-

sand heads must fall, or the fruit of the Revolution would be lost. He called upon the people to massacre the Convention as too lukewarm, and to seize the property of the rich. All persons of property were swindlers, and should be put to death.

Reign of Terror in Paris, July 20, 1793—July, 1794.

The Girondists had conceived the strange plan to arrest the Revolution by raising the Duke d'Orleans, the infamous Egalité, to the throne as Protector. This brought on a furious conflict in the Convention. The municipality organized an insurrection, and Henriot, commander of the National Guard, surrounded the assembly with his cannoneers and, accompanied by an immense mob, compelled the arrest of thirty-two leading Girondists. They were imprisoned and held for execution.

Fall of the Girondists, June 2, 1793.

Marat was murdered by Charlotte Corday, who hoped, by his death, to save the Girondists. The crime gave more power to the Jacobins, strengthened the Reign of Terror, and extinguished the last hope of the Girondists. It was, moreover, discovered that, without her dagger, Marat, tormented by a fatal malady, must have died in a few days.

Death of Marat, July 13, 1793.

The thirty-two Girondists, after some months' imprisonment, were sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal, condemned and executed, October 31, 1793. Many of their party fled into the departments, where they were murdered. A number committed suicide. Others hid themselves in forests, and died there of hunger and fatigue.

Death of the Girondists.

The Constitution of 1791, framed by the first (Constituent) Assembly, was now thrown overboard and an-

other substituted, which placed the supreme power wholly in the hands of the mob. Primary assemblies were to meet at certain fixed epochs without being convoked. The position of sane men in this vast mad-house was now intolerable. They were compelled to join the murderers and robbers, or themselves to die. Industry ceased. Famine raged. Immense numbers received from the public authorities a modicum of food, just sufficient to sustain life. Domiciliary visits were continually made, night and day. The Convention ordered that the name of each person residing in a house, from the head of the family to the smallest child and lowest servant, should be legibly inscribed on the outside of the front door. Palaces, monasteries, many other public buildings, were transformed into prisons and were soon filled.

Constitution of 1793.

Nine months after the death of the king, the queen was executed. The prince, a young boy, who would have been Louis XVII., was committed to a wretch, Simon the cobbler. The Jacobins were afraid to execute him publicly, and so caused him to be murdered in private by a slow and cruel death. Before he died, he had become an idiot. The fact of his death has been established without the least doubt. The princess, as already stated, was exchanged against the two members of the National Convention whom Dumouriez had delivered to the Austrians. She died in Vienna (1851), aged seventy-three.

Execution of the Queen.—Fate of her children.

Almost immediately after the execution of the queen, Egalité, who had hoped, after the death of Louis and Marie Antoinette, to mount the throne in their place, was detected in his intrigue and guillotined.

Execution of Egalité, Nov. 6, 1793.

Desecration of St. Denis, Aug. 6, 1793.

St. Denis, near Paris, the place of sepulture of the French kings, was now, by order of the Convention, despoiled. Nearly all the royal tombs were demolished, the coffins of twenty-five kings dragged out and emptied upon dung-hills. The reader will remember that the soldiers of Louis XIV., in the war of the Palatinate, had perpetrated a similar desecration at Speyer, where the bones of the German Emperors were dragged out of their graves.

Revolutionary laws.

The Jacobins now commenced enacting a series of laws for the purpose of overthrowing Christianity and civilization, and building up a great Tower of Babel, after their own ideas.

Calendar abolished.

The ordinary calendar was abolished, and a new one substituted, according to which all future events of history should date from the day of the republic, declared to be September 22, 1792. The year began at midnight of the day of the autumnal equinox, and was divided into twelve months of thirty days. The five additional days, and every fourth year six days, were given to the people for festivals.

It was to demonstrate the principle of equality that the year was to begin at the moment when the earth had reached that point of the ecliptic where day and night are equal at every part of its surface. A more striking illustration of the impossibility of a real and permanent equality can hardly be conceived. It illustrated, not equality, but the oscillation of the pendulum from Louis XIV. to Marat, and then from Marat to Napoleon. For while, at the moment of an equinox, the two poles, instead of twelve hours day and twelve hours night, are commencing, one, a day, and the other, a night

of six months, the equality existing on other parts of the earth, exists only for the fraction of a second, and begins immediately to give place to a continually increasing inequality. Even this inequality is unequally divided. For, while other parts of the earth are subjected to this continual change of inequality, there is a narrow band on either side of the equator where day and night are really equal during the whole period of the year.

The months were divided into decades, and the days into ten hours of one hundred minutes each. Thus the Sunday was abolished.

Sunday abolished.

Marriage was now made a mere civil contract, as it is in many countries to-day. But a new law of divorce was published by which this civil contract, like any other business partnership, might be dissolved on the most frivolous pretext.

Marriage.

The pinnacle was now placed upon the fabric. Gobel, Bishop of Paris, proposed the following resolution: "That the practice of the Christian religion was from thenceforth abolished, and that the only God was human Reason." The resolution was carried by acclamation. One member cried: "The only God is the nation."

God and Christianity abolished.

A *fête* of atheism was accordingly organized to celebrate the final downfall of the old superstition. A low *cantatrice* of the theater was appointed to act the Goddess of Reason, and to receive the worship of mankind. Enveloped in a veil, she was triumphantly borne from the hall of the Convention to the Church Notre Dame, and there elevated upon the altar. At a given signal, the veil fell, and the pure divinity received the adoration of her enlightened children.

The Goddess of Reason.

This *fete* was imitated in various provinces. In one, a beautiful and virtuous young girl was taken by force, and placed as the Goddess of Reason on the altar of a church. She died of horror and shame.

Last struggles of the Revolution.

The Revolution had now reached its height. It had ejected common sense, humanity, and religion. It had been intensified in an ever-narrowing circle of men whom the whole world abhorred and wished to see destroyed. The principle that such a Revolution devours its own children is here exemplified. The extreme Jacobin party, which had gained power by union, now began to break apart. In proportion as it succeeded in slaughtering its original enemies, it found still more formidable enemies within itself. The great leaders began to follow separate aims, and became centers of new parties. These hated, feared, and watched each other, like lions and tigers on the arena; but they all feared, hated, and watched Robespierre more. The latter knew the danger that they might unite against him, and his work was, by terror, to dominate them all; to unite with each when his purpose required, that he might destroy them all successively. He had, by terror, held beneath his feet the Girondists, the Anarchists, the Dantonists, the National Guard, the Clubs, the Municipality, and the Convention. The distrust and hatred felt by each of these against the others facilitated his plan. The Anarchists and the Municipality were fierce rivals. The Dantonists were less opposed to the Municipality than were the Anarchists. The latter were among the craziest apostles of universal destruction. They were headed by Hebert, one of the very lowest, who edited a vile paper, called *Le père Duchêne.* Around him had gravitated a group of mis-

creants, Anacharsis Clootz, a conceited, blood-thirsty fool; Chaumette, a bird of the same feather; Bishop Gobel, and the like. These were, no doubt, obnoxious both to Robespierre and the Municipality, from the fact that their stupid excesses endangered the Revolution, and rendered it disgusting and ridiculous. Among the Dantonists were Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, Herault de Sechelles, and a constellation of lesser lights. These alarmed Robespierre by their efforts to relax the advance of the Revolution. Danton was, at last, sated with blood. A secret alliance was now formed between Robespierre and the Municipality. Robespierre agreed to combine with the Municipality for the sudden destruction of the Anarchists, if the Municipality would then aid him in a spring upon the Dantonists. The game was played with success. Without notice or expectation, the Anarchists were suddenly accused, tried, and instantly beheaded. On the scaffold, they generally exhibited the basest cowardice. The terror of Hebert, renowned as a blood-thirsty, swaggering bully, awakened general hilarity. His head fell amid peals of laughter.

Anacharsis Clootz. March 18, 1794.

Anacharsis Clootz called himself the orator of the human race and the personal enemy of God. He firmly believed that he and his friends had established an eternal and universal republic; had swept away all barriers between nations and classes. Frenchmen would no more cry: "*Vive la nation!*" but "*Vive la race humaine!*" Poverty and sorrow were now banished, and must be kept away by the lanterne, the guillotine, the mitraillarde, and the noyade. Petroleum and dynamite mark a more enlightened age. The Anarchists had made *all things new!* In the midst of his golden visions, Clootz was arrested and

hurried to the scaffold, where the head of the orator of the human race fell with the rest.

The Dantonists rejoiced at the destruction of the Anarchists. They did not consider the possibility of their own. Much as Danton hated Robespierre, he did not believe him capable of such subtle perfidy as he showed on this occasion. All Paris was, one morning, astounded at the sudden arrest of this bold ruffian and his party. They fell nearly without opposition. Fouquier Tinville, a creature of Robespierre, who held the place of public accuser, hurried the affair through. Danton thundered, threatened, and even wept, but in vain. On the scaffold, he cried: "*At last I perceive that in a Revolution power finally rests with the most abandoned. France is now governed by a gang of brigands. I shall soon return to néant, but I die content because I draw Robespierre after me.*" The moment before his decapitation, he said, sternly, to the executioner: "*Show my head to the people. It will be a sight worth seeing!*" Lacroix, Camille Desmoulins, Herault de Sechelles, Fabre d'Eglantine, Westerman, and a number of others went down with Danton.

Camille Desmoulins.

When Camille Desmoulins' young wife came to Robespierre to entreat mercy for her husband, she, also, was arrested and executed.

Herault de Sechelles.

Herault de Sechelles had been sent to Alsace to suppress an insurrection. In a dispatch to the Convention, he wrote: "*I have planted guillotines on my way. They produce excellent fruit.*" Sechelles passed his last moments reading Jean Jacques Rousseau. Into what frivolity and darkness the encyclopedists had plunged France, we may see, also, by Fabre d'Eglantine. He was exceedingly anxious about his writings (pieces for the theater). While ascending the scaf-

fold, he distributed copies of these compositions among the spectators: *Les Precepteurs; le Convalescent de Qualité; L'intrigue Epistolaire*, etc.

Paris executions under Robespierre's Dictatorship.

By the death of the Girondists, the Anarchists, and the Dantonists, Robespierre was encouraged to continue terror as an instrument of government. The Municipality and the Convention might at any time unite against him. He had reached a giddy height, where he could maintain himself only by carrying on farther and farther his work of extermination. By his side stood St. Just and Couthon. The latter looked up to him as his god. St. Just (author of some obscene poems) had always pressed for the extremest measures. His bloody thoughts continually broke forth in sententious axioms: "*They who make demi-revolutions, only dig their own graves.*"—"*The ship of the revolution can reach the harbor only on a sea of blood*," etc. This infernal trinity, in which was concentrated the very quintessence of despotism, terrorism, and demonism, was now the government of France. It seemed as if the whole nation were destined to be guillotined. "*Had Robespierre's government continued much longer*," said his colleague, Fréron, "*all Frenchmen would have crowded in despair to the place of execution, and voluntarily laid their heads on the block. Life would be utterly without value.*"—"During one year," says Weber, "France crouched under the frightful tyranny of the Committee of Public Safety, at the head of which was the envious, false, ambitious Robespierre."

The first measures of Robespierre, after the destruction of his principal enemies, were to concentrate every power into his own hand; to suppress all clubs not act-

ing under his dictation; to abolish ministers, and appoint twelve committees, merely for details. There were seven thousand persons in Paris, and two hundred thousand in the provinces, waiting death in the prisons. The executions in Paris increased in number from twenty to twenty-five a day; then to eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and sixty. The Place de la Revolution (now Place de la Concorde), in front of the Tuileries, became a scene of continual butchery. The dripping, smoking guillotine remained for a long time standing, day and night. A canal for the blood was cut from the scaffold to the Seine. At last, increasing signs of public horror and indignation induced the murderers to remove the instrument to another part of the town. The shops were always closed when the carts went by. "All that remained in France of dignity, beauty, and virtue were now confined in the prisons, which became centers of cultivated society."* Every morning the jailer appeared with a new list of persons to be executed. The pale expectants crowded around him. He read the names aloud. Then cries, murmurs, sobs, embraces, kisses, adieux. Here and there one struck a dagger to his heart. Others pressed forward, and voluntarily died with those they loved. One father answered for his son, and died in his place. Another died in the same way for his brother. The wife of the commandant of Longuevie, in order to die with her husband, cried: "*Vive le Roi!*" Servants demanded to suffer with their masters, and their requests were graciously granted. A party of between one and two hundred, thus executed together, were pleasantly called a *fournée* (a batch or bake). There was no classification. Robespierre was not a respecter of persons. He hated

* Alison.

everybody alike who might possibly endanger him, or stand in his way. The principle of equality was consistently carried out. Both sexes, all ages, ranks, and professions were tumbled into carts together; vice, virtue, the old man, the young girl, the half-drunken Jacobin, the ancient minister; seventy-eight members of the Legislative Assembly, who had applauded the speech of the king; old *sans-culottes* suspected of lukewarmness; twenty-four ladies of the court; generals, whose crime was a lost battle; capitalists, beggars, nobles; Lavoisier, the distinguished savant; Mme. Elizabeth, sister of the king; at one time, twenty young peasant women; the venerable Malesherbes and his whole family; the son of Buffon; the daughter of Vernet; Beauharnais, husband of Josephine; Josephine herself was imprisoned, and would have been executed but for Tallien. Not only nobles, priests, and princesses, but mechanics, trades'-people, artisans, members of the Mountain, were every day huddled together and driven to the shambles, like calves and swine. Just before the fall of Robespierre, General Rochambeau, the colleague and friend of Washington, in our War of Independence, being among the Paris prisoners, his name was one morning called, with the rest, for execution. He pressed forward, but the cart was overcrowded, and the jailer pushed him back, saying: "*Don't be in such a hurry, old fellow! You'll have a chance to-morrow!*" Before his name was called again, Robespierre had fallen, and the general was saved. Among the victims was the eloquent and generous Barnave, the representative of the Revolution *as it ought to have been*, the true friend of the people and of liberty. His last words on the scaffold were: "*Behold my reward for all that I have done for you!*" Immediately after him fell

the celebrated Mme. du Barry, successor of Mme. de Pompadour in the favor of Louis XV. On beholding the scaffold, she went mad with terror, struggled violently, and uttered hideous shrieks. Her execution was completed only by force. The prisoners were at first allowed a kind of mock trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal, where murder had become an occasion for merry jests.

"Mercy, mercy," cried a young girl, "I am only sixteen." Dumas replied: "Bah! in crime, you are eighty." An old man from terror could not answer the questions. "No matter," said Dumas, playfully; "we do not want your tongue, only your head." A fencing-master was condemned to death. "Aha!" said Coffinhall, "old chap! parry that thrust!" Mistakes often occurred. A prisoner was brought in whose name was not on the list. "All the same!" cried Fouquier, "go ahead!"

Numerous as had become the executions, it was determined to increase them. A conspiracy was declared to have been discovered in the prisons. At about the same time (June 10), a decree of the Convention, proposed by Robespierre and seconded by Barère, abolished the examination of witnesses and dispensed with proof, on the ground that "where moral certainty exists in the mind of the judge, the examination of witnesses is useless." This law abolished every formality. The Tribunal was a creature of Robespierre. A motion of his finger was now enough to bring any one to the scaffold. The whole Convention trembled. Fouquier Tinville proposed, in order to save time, to erect the guillotine in the hall of the Revolutionary Tribunal. His proposition was rejected, not from mercy, but because too great familiarity might breed contempt and deprive death of terror. After their day's labor, the judges required rest and reward, and

passed the nights in drunken revelry and licentiousness. A caricature appeared representing the French nation decapitated, and the executioner, the sole surviving Frenchman, preparing to behead himself.

This period was well called the *Reign of Terror*. The winter was of extraordinary severity; the cold, aggravated by hunger and scarcity of fuel; the prisoners were in terror; the Convention in terror; Paris in terror; the nation in terror; the terrorists in terror. An increasing famine produced furious insurrections. To all the other horrors were added pillage and street murder. The spirit of Marat seemed hovering in the air, and still shrieking to the people: "*Plunder! Plunder! Blood! Blood!*" Robespierre himself lived in terror. No one in Paris was more completely under its influence. Several attempts had been made to assassinate him. He rarely ventured out of the house, and then only armed and with a guard. In the small circle of his immediate intimates, he was venerated as a king or a saint. They bowed down before him, and fawned and crouched at his feet. Handsome women continually hovered around the virtuous and incorruptible dictator, rivaling each other in marks of respect and offices of attention.

A few weeks before his fall, he made a speech in the Convention, and caused to be passed a resolution declaring the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, and abolishing the Goddess of Reason. He then organized a national *fête* in the gardens of the Tuileries, in which he himself officiated as pontiff. He had here an opportunity to arrest the Revolution, to declare an amnesty, to replace the country under a just constitution, and to commit it to the God whose existence he had acknowledged. He

The existence of God, June 7, 1794.

did nothing of the sort; but, three days subsequently, he proposed to the Convention the decree authorizing the Revolutionary Tribunal to dispense with witnesses.

Fall of Robespierre, July, 1794.

From his height, Robespierre was suddenly precipitated. Tallien, member of the Jacobin Club and of the Convention, having been sent to Bordeaux to crush out the insurrection, became acquainted with a beautiful prisoner, Mme. de Fontenay, waiting death as a royalist. He saw, fell in love with, and instead of cutting her head off, married her and brought her to Paris. The jealous Robespierre arrested her again for execution. Tallien determined to risk every thing in a struggle for her life and his own. It was a daring enterprise, but less difficult than he apprehended. The universal terror facilitated his design. Robespierre had undermined his own power. It was known that he was preparing a plan to decimate the Convention and the Jacobin Club. The National Guard also, under Henriot, were alarmed by observing that the proscriptions were gradually extending over a larger circle, and descending from the higher classes to the lower. The guillotine was eating its way into the very heart of the nation. No man was safe. Tallien found all parties rejoiced to unite against the common enemy. On the morning of July 26 (according to the Revolutionary calendar, the 8th Termidor), Robespierre rose in his place, declared that a conspiracy existed in the Convention itself, and demanded the immediate arrest of a number of the members. He expected the Assembly would instantly hand these members over to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Instead of this, the Convention encouraged the menaced deputies to rise and defend themselves. The dictator was astounded. The moment had come. Cambon declared: "*The time for*

dissembling had passed. One man paralyzes the assembly, and that man is Robespierre!" Billaud-Varennes, Fréron, and other deputies followed in the same strain. The sitting was adjourned in great excitement. Robespierre withdrew, perceiving that the question was to be decided by force, and that retreat would be more dangerous than going on. Depending upon Henriot, with his National Guard, the Municipality, and the *sans-culotte* mob, he was confident of victory, and determined by terror to overawe the Assembly. The next morning (July 27), he had scarcely appeared in his place in the Convention, when Tallien rose, and in a fiery speech branded him as a traitor, aiming at a sole dictatorship by the murder of his colleagues. "*Yes, Robespierre,*" he cried, "*there is a conspiracy, and you and your satellites are the conspirators. I denounce you as a traitor. Men of France! members of the Convention! will you forever crouch at the feet of this bloody tyrant? Drag him down from his throne, where he can maintain himself only by exterminating every one of you. I accuse him of treason. I demand his instant execution, with all his creatures.*"

The whole Convention rose in a frenzy. The cries of Dumas, St. Just, Couthon, and Coffinhall were overpowered by shouts of triumph and thunders of applause. Robespierre stood aghast. Every finger pointed at him. Every voice cried: "*À bas le tyran! à la guillotine!*" The tumult increased. With the energy of despair, he strove convulsively, again and again, to address the Convention. He sprang to the tribune, but Tallien knocked him back. His voice was lost in the din. He reached forth his hand to the Plain. They turned away with disgust. He appealed to his old friends of the Mountain.

They knew he had meditated their destruction, and replied with execrations and laughter. At last, broken down and exhausted, and struggling with those who attempted to arrest him, his wild, discordant shriek was heard above the uproar: "*President of assassins! for the last time, I demand liberty of speech!*" A voice replied: "*You are strangled by the blood of Danton.*" Amid increasing denunciations, he was arrested with his whole party. On the way to prison, he was released by the Municipality and the mob, and triumphantly borne to the Hôtel de Ville. Had he now placed himself at the head of the *sans-culottes* and broken into the Convention, he might have regained power, but he had not the courage. In the meantime, the Convention remained firm. Henriot had drawn up the National Guard and planted his cannon, but Barère, the most trusted friend of Robespierre, had now abandoned his patron, and proposed a decree declaring Robespierre, Henriot, and the rest *outlawed.* The decree was unanimously passed. Barras, rushing into the street, proclaimed it. The troops heard with consternation that their commander was outlawed. Henriot ordered them to fire. They refused. He then fled to the Hôtel de Ville, hoping there to find friends. Barras now placed himself at the head of a part of the National Guard, and marched against the conspirators. The two parties met,—the Municipality and the mob against the National Guard under Barras. After a short conflict, the mob were put to flight. Robespierre and his party were re-arrested. Some of them committed suicide. One (Le Bas) shot himself. Robespierre followed his example, but only shattered his jaw. He and all the conspirators were dragged into the hall of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and immediately condemned to death. Among

them Henriot. He had been pursued into the Hôtel de Ville, hunted like a rat to one of the highest rooms, there seized and pitched head first out of the window. He lay half-dead upon the pavement till the moment of his arrest. There was no trial for Robespierre. The danger was too obvious; the terror too deep. *No need of proof or witnesses, where there is moral conviction in the mind of the judges!* This was his own law. At four o'clock in the morning, with ninety-one of his party, the leaders and heart of the Revolution, he was brought to justice. When the executioner, the better to perform his office, withdrew the bandage from his face, the unhappy being uttered a fearful yell. The next instant his head was held up amid the shouts of the multitude. All Paris had been roused. An immense crowd witnessed his death with delight. Nearly the last words he heard were uttered by a spectator, who cried in his ear: "*You see, Robespierre, there really is a God!*" Among those who perished at this time were Robespierre's younger brother, Simon the Cobbler, Coffinhall, Dumas, St. Just, Couthon, the half-dead Henriot, and the principal members of the Municipality. On the scaffold, they generally betrayed abject fear. Couthon cried like a baby. St. Just alone died calmly.

Thoughts on Robespierre.

Robespierre is not without defenders. The admiration felt by many for the Revolution, on account of the services it rendered, has a tendency to create sympathy for the leaders. "Some individual," says Macaulay, "is often selected on whom are concentrated all the love and all the hatred which ought, in fact, to be shared by the whole party. Perhaps no human being has suffered more from this than Robespierre. He is regarded as the incarnation of

terror. During the most horrible days of the Revolution, those which preceded his fall, Robespierre had ceased to attend the meetings of the sovereign committee; and the direction of affairs was really in the hands of Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barère."

The above remarks are from a superior thinker; but we have not been able to find any foundation for them, so far as Robespierre was concerned. If, frightened at the indications of reviving public opinion, that tyrant ceased personally to attend the committee meetings, and left the direction of affairs to others, his whole career justifies us in regarding his moderation as cowardice and hypocrisy. He kept back for a short time from the butcheries going on around him, but who placed the knife in the hands of the butchers? Who maintained them in their post? Who was at the head of all the Revolutionary committees of France during the Reign of Terror? Who proposed the decree to abolish the examination of witnesses, and why did he propose it? There is no reason to think that Robespierre ever disapproved or hesitated to perpetrate any murder which his interest required. It may be that in his youth he was too tender-hearted to sign a death-warrant. The same is related of Nero. After all that can be said in his defense, Robespierre will probably, upon irrefutable proof, continue to be justly regarded as an incarnation of terror. Justice-loving men may well, at first, think such a character impossible. But this amiable error would neutralize one of the most instructive truths of history,—namely, that any man without principle or religion may become a demon; as any ship without a pilot may go whithersoever winds and waves bear it.

The moment Robespierre's head fell, the Revolution

collapsed. This is a comment upon the rôle he had played. It made one or two efforts to revive, but the master-spirit was gone, and the attempts failed.

After Robespierre.

Two days after Robespierre's execution, the sneaking *Barère* moved to continue Fouquier Tinville as public accuser. Fréron replied: "*The time had come to purge the earth of that monster*," and moved his arrest. Fouquier and fifteen colleagues were immediately executed. This was the work, and manifested the strength of the new party, called the *Termidorians*, before which Robespierre had fallen. The bulk of the nation hastened to join it, beside many like Fréron and Tallien, who, after having largely participated in the excesses of the Revolution, had become disgusted, and sought to retrace their steps.

Fréron now opened a saloon in his house, which soon became a center for young men of the higher classes, who might be regarded as a new club under the name of *Jeunesse Dorée*. When these young fellows saw a Jacobin of the old stamp walking in the street, they gathered around him and horsewhipped him. Billaud-Varennes made an attempt in the Jacobin Club to revive the days of terror. The Jeunesse Dorée attacked the building. It was fiercely defended, but the National Guard aided the assailants; the members of the club fled, and, September 8, 1794, eleven days after the death of Robespierre, Sieyès publicly closed the club with the words: "*The time of babbling is over. What we want now is a head and a sword.*" What they wanted they soon got.

Jeunesse Dorée.

The Revolution had naturally left the country exhausted and in a state of great distress. The demagogues

profited by this to raise one more insurrection. A body of thirty thousand pikemen, flanked by an immense *sans-culotte* mob, inflamed to delirium by a band of half-starved, half-maniac women, led by a young fury called *Aspasie*, marched around and into the Tuileries, where the Convention then sat, forced the guards in the old fashion, broke into the hall, sprang into the tribune with threats, and demanded that all the bloody Revolutionary laws which had been canceled should be re-enacted. The President of the Assembly, a noble old man, Boissy d'Anglas, here exhibited a memorable example of intrepidity. He had always been openly an enemy of excesses, and the people had been informed that he was the cause of the famine. He steadily refused to put to the vote the proposition of the mob. Sabers were brandished about his head, bayonets were directed against his breast, loaded muskets were aimed at him. He still refused. One of the members, his friend Fréron, had been murdered by the mob and decapitated. Amid uproarious threats and execrations, his head was fixed upon a pike and lifted so near to the face of Boissy, that he might have touched it with his lips. He saluted it with calm reverence. A general, commanding the military guard of the Convention, came in and announced to Boissy that the numbers and fury of the mob around the building were increasing to such a degree as to render disaster inevitable. Boissy wrote upon a sheet of paper: "*Repel force by force.*" At nine in the evening, the Jeunesse Dorée, supported by the National Guard, dispersed the mob, and released the president. When Boissy appeared in the tribune of the Convention on the morning after the insurrection, the whole Convention and the public thronging the galleries

Boissy d'Anglas, May 20, 1795.

broke out into enthusiastic applause. Six of the principal Jacobin leaders were promptly executed. The Revolutionary Committee was suppressed and the Revolutionary Tribunal abolished, just six years after the storming of the Bastile. The prisons were opened. The provinces joyfully followed the example of Paris, but, in some instances, exercised terrible retaliation upon the old terrorists. An interesting anecdote is related of Boissy. He had written a pamphlet eloquently denouncing the crimes of the Mountain. The Jacobins continually deposited a copy of this pamphlet in the bureau of the Committee of Public Safety, and could not understand how the head of Boissy remained so long on his shoulders. There was in the committee a red-hot Montagnard, Voulland, who, nevertheless, retained an unchangeable affection for his dear old school-mate Boissy, although they had now become such bitter political opponents, and when any scoundrel deposited Boissy's pamphlet on the table of the committee, Voulland just secretly slipped it into his pocket, and took the earliest opportunity to throw it into the fire.

Boissy himself related another anecdote. During the irruption of the mob into the Convention, at the moment when the tumult had reached its height, while the head of Fréron was held toward him, a young man who had the air of a gentleman, disguised as one of the mob, spoke in his ear: "*Well, Monsieur de Boissy! Do you think this people merit the liberty which you have desired to bestow upon them?*"

The French Revolution removed great abuses, and asserted the just rights of man, but falling into the hands of godless demagogues, it did not benefit the working classes. It rendered their condition worse than before. It

taught hatred instead of love; falsehood, instead of truth; murder and revolution, instead of God. Under the pretext of the highest aims, it appealed to the lowest appetites. It infected the masses with devilish sophisms, still eating their way, deeper and deeper, into their heart. With promises to convert the earth into a heaven, its tendency is to transform it into a hell. It has put evil for good; darkness, for light; death, for life. Instead of feeding the people, it has intoxicated and maddened them, so that the earth begins to reel to and fro like a drunkard. The worship of it is one of the most frightful delusions of humanity. It is a solemn warning to nations, classes, sovereigns, rulers, capitalists, laborers, and peoples. It threatens one day to wrap the world in flames.

Thoughts on the French Revolution.

CHAPTER XIV.

FALL OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

NAPOLEON—FREDERIC WILLIAM III.—AUSTERLITZ—CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE—FALL OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

IT will be remembered that, on the execution of Louis, the principal European powers joined the already then existing first coalition. France thus stood alone against Austria, Prussia, the German Empire, England, Spain, and Sardinia. The royalist insurrection in the Vendée had broken out and the principal towns had risen in revolution against the Revolution. One of these towns, Toulon, had surrendered to the English. The Jacobin government was thus threatened with desertion by its own subjects, and invasion by the armies of Europe. To meet these dangers, it had two resources, the guillotine and the *assignats*. The guillotine kept the nation down by terror. The *assignats* supplied, apparently, inexhaustible wealth. These instruments during the reign of terror rendered it omnipotent. It had in Carnot a war minister, and out of the waves of the Revolution had risen another and still greater soldier.

Position of France, 1792-1793.

The Constituent Assembly had created a paper currency, called *assignats*. Each note bore interest, and the holder became owner of the public land to the amount of the note. Forty-five milliards of this paper were issued during six

Assignats, April 1, 1790—February 19, 1796.

years. By confiscating the property of the throne, the Church, the *émigrés*, and persons executed, the government had come into possession of half the land of the country. But there was no cash, no credit, and sometimes no bread. Besides, who could be certain that, after the Revolution, the land would not go back to the original owners? In fact, the owner of a note became owner of land which he had no right or power to receive, and which, except for the moment, the government had no right or power to bestow. The currency, nevertheless, had for the time all the power of money, and without it the Revolution would have come much sooner to a close. The Revolutionary committees cost two millions a day. There were five hundred and forty thousand members of these committees, whose work was to keep the fire burning, and to act as spies against *contre-revolutionaires*. Each member received three francs a day in *assignats*. The Committee of Public Safety, Robespierre at the head, thus almost magically supplied with wealth, unfolded an irresistible energy, and easily carried on a war which would have broken down any other government; but the effect on the people was disastrous. Trade and commerce perished. The last shadow of credit disappeared. The gradual depreciation of the currency was followed by forced loans and heavy taxes. A common suit of clothes cost eight thousand francs, and the rent of an ordinary lodging was one hundred thousand. Everybody was ruined except the speculators, among them, no doubt, patriotic members of the Convention, etc., who had an eye to business. Robespierre is believed to have been quite incorruptible in money matters. Gold could not buy his victim. Immense numbers, once rich, received from the authorities public rations barely sufficient to

maintain life. Robespierre, among his other acts, forced these notes upon the people.

Napoleon at Toulon, 1793.

Napoleon made his first appearance before the world as captain, in the ferocious Revolutionary army sent by the National Convention to retake Toulon from the English and mercilessly massacre the inhabitants. By his genius, the town was taken, and one hundred and fifty poor laborers were immediately murdered in cold blood. Napoleon was not directly engaged in the savage act. On the contrary, he did his best to prevent bloodshed, and even rescued a royalist family from massacre, and had them secretly conveyed away in safety. He did not, in any way, resemble the blood-hounds with whom he was associated. Yet he perfectly knew their character and purpose when he espoused their cause, and he was in friendly relations with Robespierre and his younger brother. Toulon was taken during the Reign of Terror. By its fall, the insurrection of Southern France was suppressed. Had not the principal part of the Toulonese been borne away by the English fleet, the massacres and executions would have been as terrible as those of the other insurrectionary towns,—Lyons, Nantes, etc. Lafayette was too noble to enter into such a service. After the recovery of Toulon, Napoleon, in recognition of his superiority, was appointed to survey the line of fortifications on the French Mediterranean coast. The task was executed with a skill which drew upon him the attention of Carnot and the other military authorities. He was accordingly appointed chief of battalion in the army of Italy, stationed at Nice, on the frontier of Sardinia, which kingdom was in alliance with the enemies of France in the war then going on. Scarcely arrived at Nice, he suggested a plan by which

the Sardinians were driven from the Col di Tende; and Saorgio, a strong place, commanding a passage of the Maritime Alps, was occupied by the French. Notwithstanding this service, on the execution of his friend Robespierre, Napoleon was recalled, arrested, and thrown into prison. As it was obvious, however, that he was unstained by the crimes of the Revolution, he was soon released, and appointed to an insignificant command in Holland. Before his departure from Paris, an incident occurred which changed the aspect of his affairs and of Europe.

Transformation of the National Convention into the Directory, Oct. 5, 1795.

The National Convention had sat three years. It had ejected its most sanguinary elements, but it was so deeply associated with the Reign of Terror that the public demanded its dissolution. It concluded, therefore, to dissolve itself, adopted a new constitution, and ordered the election of a new Assembly, by which it hoped still to remain in power. The following is an outline of the new constitution:

I. Five directors chosen from time to time, formed the executive.

II. A council of five hundred, answering to the British House of Commons.

III. A council of ancients, two hundred in number, as the House of Lords. To this constitution was appended a clause, requiring that at least two thirds of the members of the new councils should be elected from the old National Convention, and that if the two thirds were not returned, the Convention itself should have the right to substitute members of its own body.

Paris rose in insurrection. The royalists were flocking back and looking for a restoration. The wind had changed

since the Septembrisades. The respectable classes had openly joined the royalists, and were supported not only by the National Guard, but by a large portion of the old *sans-culotte* mob, won over by higher pay and more drink. The Convention looked around for means of defense. It had five thousand regular troops, and what was called the Sacred Band, a relic of the old machinery of Danton and Marat; about fifteen hundred ruffians, ready for any thing. But who was to command this force? Barras suddenly said to his colleagues: "*I have the man, a little Corsican officer, who will not stand on ceremony.*" Napoleon happened to be in the gallery of the Convention, and heard the discussion. Barras invited him down before the bar. The appointment was offered. Napoleon accepted it on one characteristic condition: no member of the Convention, or any other person, to interfere with his measures. It was late at night. The attack was expected early in the morning. He instantly ordered to be collected all the cannon in Paris and within reach. Fifty were at Sablons, five miles distant. Murat, then a major of chasseurs, without a moment's delay, was dispatched to bring them. As he returned with them to Paris, he met a party of the insurgents just starting to fetch them. The Tuileries, where the Convention still sat, had not always been so well defended as at this moment. The insurgents advanced, thirty thousand strong, against a force which they knew to be not one fourth their own number. On they came, along the street St. Honoré, over the Quay of the Seine, and by the other approaches, triumphing in the certainty of victory. Every path to the Tuileries bristled with cannon. On came the thirty thousand, as if the battle were already won, when, at the word "fire," a storm of death swept street, quay, bridge,

garden. The ground was covered with the dying and the dead. In one hour, the enemy had disappeared. A few discharges of grape-shot had sent them flying.

French Directory, 1795-1799.

The old National Convention thus continued to govern under the name of the French Directory. Each of the five members had voted for the death of Louis. It ruled four years, until suppressed by Napoleon. Under it, Napoleon made his first campaign,—Campo Formio, and his expedition to Egypt. The directors were chosen one each year. There were, however, changes from different causes, so that during four years there were thirteen members, of whom Carnot for a time was one. Barras appears to have been the most influential, and managed to remain during the whole time. They were amply paid, had a guard of two hundred and forty men, and the Luxembourg Palace as their residence. During their short reign, their interior and foreign policy was equally mean and rapacious. In the military campaigns, a system of robbery was practiced by exactions of money and plunderings of art galleries. Napoleon continued this system, and carried it to perfection. The members made themselves ridiculous by their vanity and self-admiration. They assumed to be the revivers of the old Roman Empire, and the saviors of mankind. They were much laughed at for the pretentious scarlet velvet dress, adopted as their official costume. Napoleon, as First Consul, wore one of these theatrical dresses, which was exhibited, with many other relics, in the Louvre during the reign of Napoleon III. After the fall of Robespierre, the war had gone in favor of France. Pichegru had advanced into Holland. The Batavian republic was founded. The Germans were driven back over the Rhine, and Frederic William II. of Prussia,

disgusted with war, jealous of Austria, and without financial means, by his minister, Prince Hardenberg, concluded the Treaty of Basel with the old National Convention, not quite a year after the death of Robespierre. The treaty contained the following stipulations:

Treaty of Basel, April 5, 1795.

I. Prussia ceded to France, until the conclusion of a peace between France and the Empire, all the German territory, including the Prussian, on the left bank of the Rhine.

II. The neutrality of the North German States was guaranteed according to a line following the river Main, south of which no Prussian military force should appear. In return, France agreed to keep south of the line.

III. By a secret article, Prussia guaranteed the subsequent definitive surrender of the left Rhine bank to France, on the condition that Prussia should be indemnified by ecclesiastical territories, to be secularized from German princes north of the line. To this treaty, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse-Cassel acceded.

Frederic William II. was induced to this measure, partly in consequence of his discovery that Austria had concluded a secret treaty with Russia for the partition of Turkey, in which Bavaria and Venice were to be annexed by Austria, and which stipulated that Prussia should not be allowed to enlarge her territory. The Treaty of Basel was disastrous to South Germany. It divided Germany into two parts, and proclaimed the approaching dissolution of the Empire. The French troops south of the line now robbed and plundered with impunity. A writer says: "The German palace and hut were alike stripped; food and statues, Raphaels and butchers'

meat, carvings by Benvenuto Cellini and hens' eggs, went to Paris the same way, and often in the same basket."

Hostilities between France and the United States, 1789-1799.

The Directory attempted to bully the United States government. The French Revolution had broken out at the beginning of Washington's administration (1789), and caused a violent contention between the two American political parties, Federalists and Democrats; the latter, desiring an alliance with the French Republic against the European monarchies; the former, with Washington at its head, advocated a strict neutrality. In 1793, the French National Convention had accredited citizen Genet, one of its creatures, as French minister in the United States. This man intrigued so impudently to force the United States into a war with Great Britain, that Washington sent him out of the country. Although the Convention did not dispatch Carrier or Collot d'Herbois to America with orders to guillotine Washington and all the other members of the Federalist party, it cherished no good-will toward the United States, and the grudge continued till Napoleon seized power. Decrees were issued which inflicted losses upon American commerce, and nearly brought on a war. Mr. Adams, a Federalist, second President of the United States, on his election, convened an extra session of Congress, to effect a friendly arrangement (1797) with the Directory, and sent three envoys to Paris with powers to settle all differences. Among them was Mr. Thomas Pinckney. The Directory refused to receive them, but indicated, through Talleyrand, that something might be accomplished, if the negotiations were preluded by a present of money to the Directory, and that a refusal would be followed by war. Mr. Pinck-

ney replied: "*War be it then! Millions for defense, not one cent for tribute.*"

We anticipate to follow this little episode to its close. Preparations for war were made by the United States, and Washington, after having served his two terms as President, was appointed again commander-in-chief of the American army. On the ocean, hostilities actually began. The American frigate "Constellation" captured a French frigate in the West Indies, and in an action of five hours afterward, disabled another French vessel of superior force. About this time, Napoleon returned from Egypt (1799), suppressed the Directory; swept away the whole affair, with masses of other directorial trash, and concluded a treaty of peace with the United States.

New campaign of France against Austria, 1796-1797.

This was the position of France when Carnot, one of the five directors and minister of war, formed a new plan of attack against Austria and the German Empire. The old coalition of 1792 still existed, but by the Treaty of Basel, Prussia had withdrawn from the war. Carnot's plan was to make three different simultaneous invasions. A great army, under Jourdan, to advance from the Lower Rhine; another, under Moreau, to enter Germany through Swabia and Bavaria. Napoleon was placed as general over the third army at Nice. His task was to press along the coast into Italy.

Defeat of Jourdan and Moreau, 1796.

To meet this triple assault, the Archduke Charles of Austria, brother of the Emperor Francis, a great soldier and an honest man, took the field, beat both Jourdan and Moreau back beyond the Rhine. The victories of Austria went thus far and no farther.

Napoleon was twenty-six years old when he took the

command. He found the army in a miserable condition, not fifty thousand strong, without cavalry, almost without clothing and food. They were aroused from their despondency by his first proclamation: "*Soldiers! You are hungry. You are naked. On the other side of yonder Alps lie fertile plains, rich provinces, opulent towns. Follow me, and they are yours!*" The Austrian government thought it would be easy to crush a small, half-clothed army, led by a young, inexperienced commander. She sent an army. It was destroyed. Another. Destroyed. Four armies, one after the other, the strength and flower of Austria, disappeared. Four great generals, Beaulieu, Wurmser, Alvinzy, the Archduke Charles, were beaten. Napoleon's victories followed with startling rapidity: Montenotte, Fombio, Pizzighitone, Millesimo, Mondove, Lodi, Valegio, Medola, Tagliano Castiglione, Roveredo, Bassano, Arcola, Rivoli, Lonato, Caldiero, Cagliano, La Favorita. Every step was a battle, and every battle a victory. These flashes of lightning and peals of thunder dazzled and shook all Europe. At Lodi was made the celebrated passage of the bridge. The French troops hesitated to confront the tempest of fire. Napoleon and his General Lannes, at the exact moment, dashed through, and every soldier followed. The bridge was carried. The incident was repeated at Arcola. Napoleon seized a standard, leaped upon the bridge, and the day was won. He had beaten both the Austrians and the Sardinians, conquered nearly all Lombardy, compelled enormous contributions from Parma, Modena, Naples, and the Pope. Venice was occupied by the French, who, of course, plundered the chief treasures. Vienna lay open. The King of Sardinia, Victor Amadæus, made a separate peace,

Napoleon's first campaign (Campo Formio), 1796-1797.

ceded Savoy and Nice to the French Republic, and surrendered the fortresses of Piedmont. Sardinia became almost a French province. Austria was struck with consternation. Francis hastened to sign the Treaty of Campo Formio. It is not easy to say what further conquests Napoleon would have made had he not been prevented by threatening movements of the Archduke Charles; by an insurrection in the Venetian territory, and a rising of the people in Bohemia and the Tyrol. He, therefore, signed the Treaty of Campo Formio.

Treaty of Campo Formio, October 17, 1797.

By this treaty, Austria ceded Belgium to France, and received Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia. In a secret article, she agreed to the cession of the left Rhine bank, with Mayence. The princes losing territory should be indemnified by other territory in Germany, secularized from ecclesiastical princes. A guarantee was added that Prussia should be allowed no indemnification for the lands on the Rhine bank which she had ceded by the Treaty of Basel. There has thus always been a current of enmity setting against Prussia; the Roman Catholic retrograde power against Protestantism and progress. The French frontier was thus now advanced to the Rhine, also by consent of the Empire and Austria.

Congress of Rastadt, December, 1797—April, 1799.

A Congress met at Rastadt, to decide a variety of questions left open by the Treaty of Campo Formio. It sat about eighteen months. Talleyrand in it exercised an arbitrary power, in cutting up the Empire and disposing of different portions, notwithstanding a guarantee to the contrary in the Treaty of Campo Formio. The Congress was called the Robber-Congress. Germany looked on with silent but deep indignation. Frederic William II.,

King of Prussia, died 1797, at about the time of the opening of the Congress of Rastadt, and was succeeded by his son, Frederic William III.

Napoleon after the Treaty of Campo Formio, 1797.

Napoleon had, no doubt at an early moment, conceived the idea of seizing power, and soon began to play a skillful game. His return to Paris, after the Treaty of Campo Formio, was a triumph. The eyes of the whole civilized world were upon him. He was already a hero. He had delivered France from her degradation, and raised her to power. The Papacy, Venice, Italy, Austria, the German Empire had bent before him; and treasures of art as well as streams of gold, the overflowings of his conquests, were continually pouring into the French capital. "I have sent," he said, in one of his dispatches, "at least fifty million francs for the service of the State, after payment of all the expenses of the campaign." On arriving in Paris, he retired with seeming modesty from the public gaze; seldom showed himself in the streets; appeared only in the dress of a private gentleman, and passed for an unambitious citizen and scholar. He thus took time to observe, and was not long in discovering the true position of France. She was not yet ready for a military dictator. "*The apple*," he said, "*is not ripe!*"

Expedition to Egypt, May 19, 1798—October 8, 1799.

He, accordingly, suggested to the Directory a military expedition to Egypt. They were already jealous of him, and gladly acquiesced. The expedition, secretly organized, carried forty thousand of the best soldiers of France. The nominal purpose was the increase of French power in the Mediterranean, the destruction of Turkey, the acquisition of Egypt, and the weakening of England in India. Napoleon hoped, also, to find in the East an in-

demnification for the loss of the French North American colonies and, perhaps, to found a grand Oriental empire for himself. We pass over details. He remained in Egypt about sixteen months. The great Battle of the Pyramids, in which he defeated the Mamalukes, and the Battle of Abukir, in which he killed twenty thousand Turks, had added new splendor to his name as a soldier, and given him in the East the title of "*Sultan Kebir, King of Fire.*" As far as the French government was concerned, the expedition was a failure. The French fleet (Battle of the Nile) had been destroyed by Nelson in the Bay of Abukir, and the admiral's ship, "L'Orient," one hundred and twenty guns, blew up at midnight, the admiral on board. Napoleon had not transformed Egypt into a French province, nor the Mediterranean into a French lake; he had not overthrown England in India, nor founded an Oriental empire for himself. But he had awakened a profound enthusiasm in the hearts of the French people; he had kept himself in a dazzle of glory constantly before their eyes, and thus founded for himself an Occidental empire beyond all his dreams.

Events during Napoleon's absence in Egypt, 1798-1799.

During his absence, a new coalition had been formed against France. Austria, to wipe out the stain of Campo Formio, regain Italy, and save the Empire; England, alarmed for her Indian colonies; Turkey, enraged at the invasion of her provinces; Russia (the Emperor Paul I.), to protect the principle of legitimacy. To these must be added Portugal and Naples. Frederic William III. of Prussia was urged to join this coalition, but declined. The outbreak of the war was marked by some striking incidents. On a *fête*-day in Vienna, the hotel of the French minister, Bernadotte, was stormed by the people.

The French tricolored flag was torn down and publicly burned. The feeble Directory demanded satisfaction, but Napoleon was in Egypt, with forty thousand of the bravest soldiers, and the Vienna cabinet took no notice of the demand.

Another incident. After the departure of Napoleon for Egypt, the Congress of Rastadt had remained in session till the new coalition against France brought it to a close. The three French ministers in it had awakened universal hatred by their insolence. On the outbreak of the war, they left Rastadt in the evening for France. Scarcely out of the town, they were attacked by a number of Austrian hussars, robbed of their papers, and two of them murdered. The third saved himself only by creeping into a ditch. In Italy, the conquests of Napoleon melted away before a Russian army under Suvaroff, and an Austrian army under General Kray. In short, during Napoleon's absence, France had been beaten, misgoverned, weakened, humiliated, and insulted. Napoleon, in Egypt, received this news with pleasure. Without asking leave of his government, he secretly abandoned Egypt, and returned to France.

Napoleon returns to France, 1799.

There were stringent quarantine laws at the port of Frejus, but when the people heard that Bonaparte had arrived, the quarantine laws were ignored by universal consent, and crowds collected to greet the "*King of Fire.*" Napoleon hastened on to Paris, and remained there two days in his own house examining the state of French affairs before he announced his arrival to the Directory. He soon ascertained that the apple had ripened in his absence, and determined to seize the government.

His two confidants were Talleyrand and Sieyès. The

Council of Ancients was won over. It assembled at the Tuileries, and immediately passed two decrees: one, transferring the two assemblies to the Château of St. Cloud, five miles from Paris; the other, appointing Napoleon commander-in-chief of all the troops in and about the capital, and of the National Guard.

Seizes power, Nov. 9, 10, 11, 1799.

Three regiments of dragoons had some time before petitioned for the honor of being reviewed by Napoleon, and he had promised to name a day. Forty adjutants of the National Guard had asked permission personally to congratulate him on his arrival from Egypt. He had said he would name a day. A number of other officers of the garrison had requested the honor of visiting him, and had received the same answer. He would soon name a day. It was the same day for all, November 10; the day when he knew the Council of Ancients would appoint him commander-in-chief of the Paris troops. The three regiments of dragoons to be reviewed, the forty adjutants to congratulate him, the other officers of the garrison to have the honor of visiting him, and many others whom he had himself invited, met on November 10. Napoleon took care to be in their midst when he received from the Council of Ancients the announcement of his new military rank. The appointment was immediately made public amid enthusiastic acclamations. Napoleon repaired to the Tuileries, surrounded by his troops. The Guard of the Directory (two hundred and forty men), at the command of one of his aids-de-camp, joined Napoleon, leaving the Directors, who were not in the secret, at the Luxembourg, bewildered and without defense. Barras sent his secretary to demand an explanation. Napoleon at the Tuileries, surrounded by

troops, received the messenger with the words: "What have you done" (he seemed already to feel the Imperial crown upon his head) "with that fair France, which I left you so prosperous? For peace I find war. For the wealth of Italy, taxation and misery. Where are the one hundred thousand brave French whom I knew? Where are the companions of my glory? They are dead!"

The Directors perceived that they were extinguished and resigned in a body.

Napoleon's brother, Lucian, was President of the Council of Five Hundred. That assembly, however, was opposed to Napoleon and enraged at the decrees of the Council of Ancients. Both assemblies met in full session (November 11). A vast mob from Paris and a strong body of troops under Murat were already on the spot, eying each other with no friendly glances. In the midst of a stormy debate, Napoleon himself entered the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, accompanied by four grenadiers. He walked alone to the center of the chamber, leaving his grenadiers behind him. Through the open door could be seen a strong body of troops. He was received with shrieks of rage and execration. Many rushed upon him, and one aimed a dagger at his throat. He was rescued by his grenadiers and carried out of the hall. Lucian, the president of the Assembly, was required immediately to proclaim a sentence of death. He demanded to speak in his defense, but was refused. The commotion became so violent that the president himself was in danger, and was rescued by the grenadiers. Lucian mounted a horse and addressed the troops, exclaiming: "General Bonaparte and you, soldiers of France, I, the President of the Council of Five Hundred, announce to you that factious men with dag-

gers interrupt the deliberations of the Council. I authorize you to employ force. The Assembly of Five Hundred is dissolved."

Napoleon immediately commanded General Le Clerc to execute the order. Le Clerc marched a body of grenadiers into the hall and himself mounted the tribune: "*Gentlemen, you must disperse. Such is the order of the General. Grenadiers, forward!*" Loud drums drowned the yells and shrieks. The grenadiers leveled their pieces as for a charge, and the five hundred deputies escaped as well as they could, mostly out of the windows. Such was the order of the general! The hall was cleared, and Napoleon master of France. He had put the Directory in, and now he put them out. Barras had found the man, "*a little Corsican officer, who would not stand on ceremony.*"

First Consul, Nov. 11, 1799-1804.

The minority of the Council of Five Hundred and the majority of the Council of Ancients in the interest of Napoleon now assumed the powers of government, appointed a Provisional Consulate for ten years, and resigned their authority into its hands. The Consulate consisted of Napoleon, Sieyès, and Ducos. Napoleon, First Consul. The wits of Paris made pasquinades: "Take two from three, remains one. Take Sieyès and Ducos away, remains Napoleon."

France was now weary of Revolution, Constituent Assemblies, Legislative Assemblies, National Conventions, and Directories. The Revolution had cost her two million men, and at last placed the authority in the hands of a small, vulgar ring, who were ruining her at home and disgracing her abroad. There was an increasing desire for a strong government. The sword and the head were now there. Napoleon immediately seized and retained

supreme power. He commenced vast and secret military preparations, and at the same time pretended to be wholly absorbed by civil reforms. Indeed, he swept away a mass of infamous abuses, introduced or maintained by the Directory; released twenty thousand Catholic priests from prison, and effected many other salutary changes. He abolished the religion of nature and reopened the churches. In five months his military plan was completed. It was on the largest scale, and unsuspected by Austria and her allies. He had collected a few ineffective troops at Dijon as a blind. The Austrians commented upon these with merry jests, and rejoiced in the certainty of soon dictating a peace in Paris. Their astonishment was equaled only by their consternation, when the vanguard of a French army of thirty-five thousand men with artillery descended the Alps over the great St. Bernard Pass from the Swiss canton Valais into Piedmont. Napoleon is generally represented crossing the Alps on a fiery charger in the picturesque grandeur of a conquering hero. This was not exactly the case. He made part of the way on a mule, and in descending on the Italian side he was once obliged to slide down nearly a hundred yards in a sitting position.

Battle of Marengo, June 14, 1800.

At Marengo, a village of Upper Italy, he met the enemy; the Austrians under Melas. The French were defeated, and had Melas pursued his advantage, a complete victory might have been gained. But Melas (eighty-four years of age), worn out with fatigue, seeing the French squadrons in full retreat, satisfied of his victory, retired from the field and left one of his officers, Zach, to follow the flying enemy.

At this moment Dessaix, a general of Napoleon, ar-

rived with re-inforcements. "*I think*," he said to the First Consul, "*this is a battle lost.*"—"*I think*," replied Napoleon, "*it is a battle won. Push on! I will follow.*" He then rallied the retreating troops. His mere appearance and voice arrested their flight. "*Soldiers, we have retired far enough. Now is the moment to advance. It is my custom, you know, to sleep on the battle-field.*" With shouts of enthusiasm his whole army advanced. Dessaix, a moment after, fell dead by a bullet through his brain. The attack was completely successful. The Austrians, in a panic, reached the Bormeda, where, hemmed in and unable to make the passage, they were forced by hundreds into the river filled with corpses, struggling men, and horses. The victory raised France from her degradation, where every European power could insult her without danger. Its effect was heightened in France by a previous report announcing the total destruction of the French army. Napoleon, on his return, was received by the Parisians with a welcome bordering on adoration. He had not been two months in the field, and the whole position of Europe was changed. Paris was again the center of the world. The city was not only illuminated, but for a considerable period illuminated every night. The Tuileries was continually surrounded by immense throngs waiting for hours to get a glimpse of Napoleon. England was dismayed. Pitt pointed to a map of Europe on his table and said: "Take it away. We shall not want it for twenty years."

Amid this blaze of glory, Napoleon had heavy cares at home and abroad. The false news of his defeat at Marengo had occasioned a nearly successful intrigue for removing him from the government. An English expedition took Malta.

Battle of Hohenlinden, Dec. 2, 1800.

The exiled Bourbon princes appealed to him for their restoration. The old Jacobins of the Marat and Danton school began to show their teeth. A sculptor asked permission to take his statue, intending to stab him. Napoleon's occupations obliged him to decline. A band of eight or ten miscreants then attempted to massacre him in the lobby of the opera. This plan also failed. An infernal machine (October 10, 1800), containing a barrel of gunpowder and a mass of grape-shot, was laid in a narrow street in the way of Napoleon as he was driving with Josephine to the opera. It exploded half a minute too late, killing twenty and wounding fifty-three persons.

In addition to these anxieties, the negotiations with Austria were protracted principally by the influence of England. Perhaps Francis, knowing the dangers which surrounded the Chief Consul, hoped to profit by delay. After waiting five months, Napoleon thought it necessary to quicken his movements. He therefore resumed hostilities, and everywhere with success. Moreau advanced into Bavaria. The Archduke John, brother of the Austrian Emperor, who will appear again in our narrative, met him, and in the first conflict obtained an advantage. This encouraged the duke to a more daring experiment. He confronted Moreau at Hohenlinden. An obstinate battle resulted in the victory of Moreau. The Austrians lost ten thousand men.* The way to Vienna was now again open. Francis cut clear from England, and signed the Peace of Luneville.

Treaty of Luneville, February 9, 1801.

The Germans date the fall of the Empire from this treaty. Among the stipulations were:

* The poem of Campbell refers to this battle:

"On Linden when the sun was low."

I. Francis, for the German Empire and for Austria, confirmed the cession of the left Rhine bank to France, as Prussia had done by the Treaty of Basel. The princes losing territory thereby should be indemnified in Germany.

II. He recognized the four French vassal republics which sat at the feet of Napoleon, and, in fact, formed a part of the French Republic; namely, the Batavian, Helvetian,* Cisalpine,† and Ligurian‡ republics. The Empire by this lost between three and four million inhabitants and an immense territory. Francis begged that the French troops might evacuate the German fortresses on the right (that is, on the German) bank of the Rhine. Napoleon replied: "No; they might be used against France. We will go out, if you wish; but the fortresses must be destroyed." "Destroy them, then, yourself," replied Francis. "We will do so," said Napoleon, and in due time the old river trembled under a series of explosions, announcing that the Imperial fortresses of Ehrenbreitstein and four others were being blown to pieces. It was the death knell of the Holy Roman Empire.

Reichsdeputations-hauptschluss, 1803–1805.

It would be a waste of time in this outline to give details of the transactions consequent upon that clause of the treaty which stipulated that the various princes losing their territory on the left Rhine bank should be indemnified by other territory in Germany. The Empire, thus in its last stage of dissolution, consisted, we remind the reader, of between three and four hundred States, large and small, including free cities, bishoprics, abbeys, lordships, counties. The small States were, of course, in the

* Switzerland. † Milan, etc. ‡ Genoa.

greatest danger. The questions were, what States shall be secularized, and what princes mediatized? It was Napoleon who decided these questions. A council called Reichsdeputation was appointed to act under France, and it came to a conclusion, bearing the long name of *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*. For two years the antechamber of the First Consul in Paris, and even the antechambers of his secretaries and of the ladies of his secretaries, were crowded by the public envoys and secret agents of German princes, begging, intriguing, and bribing to obtain good terms for themselves and to get the upper-hand of each other. The indignant people ridiculed and caricatured them. The princes, they declared, had never contributed the least sum of money to save the fatherland, yet now offered large sums to the commissioners having interest with the French court. Napoleon, during these years, kept Frederic William III., the young King of Prussia, quiet by letters overflowing with flatteries, promises, and assurances of friendship. It was the interest both of Napoleon and Frederic William to suppress the large number of insignificant small States who generally acted with Austria. In the new territorial arrangements, Napoleon leaned in favor of Prussia. The Empire was going to pieces. Napoleon had the power to decide territorial questions. It was natural that Frederic William should be pleased to find the great conqueror disposed to strengthen him. But the omnipotent and cunning Corsican was only laying a trap to deceive, use, and betray him.

The United States of America and the Treaty of Luneville.

The United States of America had an indirect interest in this Treaty of Luneville. By it Spain ceded the vast territory of Louisiana to France, and Napoleon, 1803, sold it to the United States

Government (Mr. Jefferson, President) for fifteen million dollars. Napoleon declared he made this cession in order to enable the United States to become a rival of England on the ocean.

Concordat with Pope Pius VII., Feb., 1801.

Pope Pius VII. signed a Concordat with Napoleon, which re-established the Catholic as the State religion in France. In this document Napoleon took precedence of the Pope, and maintained the right to appoint the bishops, the famous old question of the Empire.

Treaty of Amiens, March 25, 1802.

About a year after the Treaty of Luneville, Great Britain, at Amiens, concluded a treaty of peace with France.

Napoleon, Chief Consul for life, May, 1802.

Napoleon now caused himself to be elected Chief Consul for life, with authority to appoint his successor. This was, of course, the inauguration of a new dynasty. The words: "Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité," disappeared from the public documents.

New war with England, May 18, 1803.

The Peace of Amiens turned out only an armistice. The British government, convinced that Napoleon was using peace only to perfect preparations for war, determined to anticipate him. "*The destruction of the country*," said Mr. Sheridan, "*is the first vision that breaks on the French consul through the gleam of the morning, and is his last prayer at night, to whatever deity he may address it, whether to Jupiter or to Mohammed, to the Goddess of Battles or the Goddess of Reason.*" Great Britain declared war; but before the declaration she gave orders to seize French shipping all over the world. Two hundred French vessels were thus confiscated, and property to the amount of three million pounds sterling, before the declaration

of war was communicated. This high-handed measure gave the British government little right to complain of the retaliation immediately inflicted by Napoleon, abominable as that was. He instantly issued an order to arrest every English subject residing, or even traveling, on French territory. Ten thousand persons, chiefly of the higher classes, were arrested, and thus condemned for an indefinite period to French prisons.

The French general, Mortier, occupied Hanover and extorted heavy contributions. At the same time, Napoleon made preparations to invade England. A hundred and fifty thousand French troops were stationed along the French and Dutch coast, and vast flotillas were prepared to transport them across the channel.

Plot against Napoleon's life, 1804.

A hundred and fifty men, disguised in the uniform of the Consular Guard, now formed a plot to murder the First Consul while hunting at Malmaison. General Pichegru, General Moreau, George Cadudal, one of the chiefs of the Vendée war, Captain Wright, an English naval officer, and the young Duke d'Enghien were charged with complicity.

Duc d'Enghien murdered, March 20, 1804.

The bolt fell first upon the young Duke d'Enghien, a French prince of the Bourbon family, aged thirty-two, who had served against revolutionary France under Frederic William II. of Prussia, in the campaign of the Duke of Brunswick. He resided at a château near Ettenheim, in Baden, not in France, but on the French frontier. Napoleon sent three hundred gens-d'armes, under a general called *Ordenard*, who surrounded the château in the night, dragged the duke from his bed, and brought him to the Vincennes State prison in a suburb of Paris. They arrived in the evening; a court-martial assembled the

same night, tried the duke without witnesses, proof, or defender. No crime was proved. He was condemned to death. He asked whether he might not be allowed a personal interview with the Chief Consul. His noble bearing impressed his judges. They hesitated, but Savary (afterward Duke of Rovigo), then Minister of Police, whispered into the judge's ear: "*This would be inopportune.*" The report of the trial was instantly sent to Napoleon. The court remained sitting till the messenger returned with the document, on which were inscribed the words, in Napoleon's writing: "Condemned to death." The duke received with perfect composure the information that he was immediately to be executed. He requested a confessor, and was answered: "Would you die like a monk?" He knelt for a moment in prayer, and said: "*I am ready.*" The day was just breaking as the murderers and their victim reached the spot. The prince refused to have his eyes bandaged. Savary gave the word. The deed was done by torch-light. The warm body, in the dress which he had worn, was immediately thrown into a grave dug the day before. To his credit be it said, Fouché had tried to dissuade Napoleon from this murder. It was he and not Talleyrand who used the words: "*Worse than a crime; a blunder!*" As not the least proof has ever been presented, we have a right to consider the duke innocent, and that Napoleon personally conceived and carried through this murder in order to strike the royalists with terror. He had taken a hint in the art of governing from his old friend Robespierre.

A few days after, Pichegru was found dead in prison, murdered, it was supposed, by Savary, or some of his creatures. They were afraid to bring the old soldier into court. Captain Wright, also, about the same time, was

found dead in his dungeon, his throat cut from ear to ear. It was reported that he had been put to the torture in the hope of obtaining evidence with regard to the plot, and murdered to prevent his revealing the outrage. Moreau, also charged with complicity, escaped to the United States. It must also be mentioned that, through the French minister at Karlsruhe, Talleyrand had secretly given the Duke d'Enghien notice of his danger, who immediately sent for a passport, but the Austrian authorities did not furnish the document till too late.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, 1804.

The horror of all Europe at the murder of d'Enghien, the fear of a restoration and of new plots, hastened the Chief Consul's determination to grasp the crown. The elective machinery of the Revolution was accordingly put in motion to elevate a despot, and Napoleon was chosen hereditary Emperor of the French. All authority was vested in his hands. He was crowned, December 2, in the Church Notre Dame, amid all that France could present of fashion and grandeur. Citizen Bonaparte, as the God of Battle, mounted to the place a few years before occupied by the Goddess of Reason. The amiable and unfortunate Josephine was crowned at the same time. The submissive pontiff, Pius VII., was not permitted to perform the actual ceremony. He blessed the sovereigns, and consecrated the diadems. Napoleon then took these into his own hands, and himself placed one upon his head and one upon the head of Josephine. His aspect is described as thoughtful. "He planted the symbol of supreme power," says Lockhart, "with a blood-stained hand upon a stern and gloomy brow. The deputies shouted. The people were silent. The shades of d'Enghien and Pichegru seemed to hover over the scene."

The Italian Republic now petitioned Napoleon to be crowned, also, her king. He accordingly proceeded to Milan, and with his own hand placed the old iron crown of Lombardy upon his head. *Emperor of the French and King of Italy.* In his person, Cæsar appeared to have risen again. He had wrested the scepter of the world from the grasp of the Holy Roman Empire.

King of Italy, May 26, 1805.

For six years the Revolution had wielded absolute power. It had put to death the king and his family. It had abolished the Church, the throne, the *noblesse.* It had established universal suffrage. It had elected three different omnipotent parliaments. It had seized half the land of the nation, and robbed and murdered all supposed to be unfavorable to it. It had abolished the hated Christianity and dethroned God, in the name of liberty and progress. It had, in fact, carried out as far as possible all the insane plans of the incendiaries of our day. And now there was one of its old subordinate officers, "Citizen Bonaparte," Emperor of the French and King of Italy, more powerful and despotic than Louis XIV.; raising around him a new and brilliant *noblesse,* a magnificent court; eighteen marshals of the Empire leaning on their swords, and waiting his orders; about to array more numerous armies than had ever followed a European leader; suppressing every liberal institution; and saying, with perfect truth, "*l'état c'est moi*" and "*tel est mon plaisir!*"

A third coalition was now formed against France. At this point, Napoleon came particularly into collision with Prussia. We glance back, therefore, a moment to the close of the reign of Frederic William II. and the accession of his son, Frederic William III.

Close of the reign of Frederic William II. of Prussia, November 16, 1797.

Frederic William II. of Prussia, as already stated, died 1797. He participated in the second and third dismemberment of Poland, where he manifested fickleness and treachery. He first guaranteed the integrity of Poland, and afterward marched his army into that republic, and took his share with Russia and Austria. His wars with France and Poland, and his private debauchery, exhausted the treasury left by his uncle, Frederic the Great. His reign was intolerant, reactionary, unpopular. There was good in it, but it was more than counterbalanced by the evil, and the consequences fell heavily upon his successor.

Frederic William III., November 16, 1797—June, 1840.

Frederic William III., born August 3, 1770, and twenty-seven years of age at the death of his father, was only sixteen at the death of Frederic the Great, at whose court he had lived, and whose affection he had enjoyed. When quite a child, he was playing with a ball in a room where the old King Frederic was engaged writing. The monarch had a tender heart for children and dogs, and bore the disturbance for a long time with patience. At last, as the ball bounced down upon his paper and very likely against his nose, the old soldier determined on hostilities, and proceeded to take possession. The boy demanded the surrender of his property, and, on refusal, planted himself in a stern position, and with a threatening look, said: "Will your Majesty give me that ball, or will you not?" "*Potztausend!*" said the king, "that fellow will never let them take Silesia!" We may presume, although Frederic was not in the habit of making such restitutions, that the ball was redelivered to its rightful owner. At the age of twenty-three, Frederic William married the Princess Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a noble, ac-

complished woman, who subsequently, by her virtues and devoted patriotism, became a beautiful ideal of Prussia.

Wise administration.

Frederic William had inherited from his father an exhausted treasury, a debt, a demoralized army, bad laws, discontented subjects, serious abuses in every department, and the Treaty of Basel. The public offices were, in many cases, filled with incompetent, immoral, and unpatriotic persons. His first efforts were directed to the regeneration of his country. In eight years (1805), Prussia had already risen from the prostrate condition in which she had been left by his father. All the departments of the State felt the influence of the king. Commerce flourished. Prosperity began to revive, as before under the hand of the Great Elector. The king has been blamed for not joining the coalition against France, but he had reasons.

Ought the Great Powers to have united against Napoleon?

Was it right for the Great Powers to unite against and insult Napoleon as they did? Instead of calling upon Frederic William to join their coalitions, would it not have been better if England and Russia had attempted an honest mediation between Germany and France, abstained from provoking, and adopted a system of neutrality, at least, until fully prepared for simultaneous action? What object was to be obtained by insulting and threatening Napoleon? He was the representative, and at last the Emperor of the French nation. As Chief Consul, he had addressed an autograph letter to George III., King of England, offering peace. Ought not the King of England, or the Prince of Wales, to have answered that letter? Napoleon instead received an evasive dispatch from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, addressed

to Talleyrand. Three days after the note to Talleyrand, the First Consul made preparations for war, which was closed by the battle of Marengo. Again: After the Peace of Amiens, did the British government act wisely in confiscating ships and property, and then declaring war?

Frederic William knew the feebleness of Prussia as a military power. He desired to save his subjects from war. There was a strong French party in the nation and in the government. His Polish province was only waiting an opportunity to break away. The partition of Poland by his father was already bearing its fruits. He was a young king and a young man, no soldier, and without military ambition. He had seen Frederic the Great by a rash war inflict infinite misery on the country, and bring it to the brink of destruction. He saw the extraordinary strength of Napoleon as a soldier, but had not yet discovered his unscrupulous character and ambition. He believed in the possibility of keeping Prussia out of the war. He had still another reason. The Great Powers had not manifested disinterested unity of purpose, or any well-conceived plan. Their blunders were great; there was no concerted action, and no guarantee that Prussia might not be sacrificed. The Empire was drawing to its close. A scramble for territory was taking place. The ancient jealousy between Austria and Prussia still existed. The king remembered, no doubt, the Treaty of St. Germain, and how the Great Elector had been treated by his allies, the Emperor and by the German princes. Why should Prussia spend her treasures and blood to restore Italy to Austria, to maintain the influence of England in India, to redress the wrongs of Turkey, or to gratify such a crazy character as the Emperor Paul of Russia,

or to keep the Imperial German crown on the head of Francis? Austria, as the possessor of the Imperial crown, had the greatest interest in resisting Napoleon. Prussia, in reality, had far less reason. It lay in the nature of things, that the fall of the old Roman Catholic German Empire would make way for a new Protestant German Empire under Prussia, instead of Austria. In reply, the war party in Prussia, headed by Queen Louisa and Prince Louis Ferdinand, nephew of Frederic the Great, could plead many acts of Napoleon implying contempt for Prussia, and a plan to establish a universal monarchy. He was surrounding himself with vassal States. He had in his hand the destiny of the feeble Empire,—one or two more victories like Marengo would destroy that Empire, and erect in its place a new Holy Roman Empire of the French nation.

Although Frederic William hesitated to join the coalition, he refused to join Napoleon against the coalition, and, in so doing, brought upon himself the hatred of the French Emperor. Like Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, he might have joined the conqueror, and been rewarded by a large share of the spoils. But his just mind saw too clearly the shame, as well as the danger, of such an alliance. Few sovereigns had ever to contend with greater difficulties. We must remember, also, the dangerous geographical position of Prussia.

Third coalition against France, 1805.

The third coalition—England, Russia, Austria, Sweden (Gustavus IV.)—now made vast preparations. The only ally of France was Spain. Before the war broke out, Napoleon as Emperor (again) personally addressed a letter to King George III., offering England peace. Who can tell what might have been done had George III., or the Prince of Wales

(George IV.), answered this letter in a courteous spirit, and sent to Paris some sensible British statesman, like Mr. Fox, to talk the matter over. This was not done. Napoleon's letter was again contemptuously left without answer, except from the British Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Secretary of State. What was the result of this? Austerlitz. The war now commenced. Five great armies, under the following commanders, advanced to crush France: I., Archduke Charles; II., Archduke Ferdinand; III., General Mack; IV., the Russian General Kutusoff; V., the Russian Emperor Alexander. Napoleon took the chief command in Germany, supported by Davoust, Soult, Lannes, Ney, Murat, Bernadotte; while Massena kept in check the Archduke Charles, who had remained in Italy. Strong efforts were made to draw Prussia into this coalition, but Frederic William held back. Here occurred a significant circumstance. Bernadotte, coming from Hanover as the shortest way to his point of destination, marched his army over the neutral Prussian territory of Anspach. This was an open insult to Prussia. It occasioned the greatest excitement. Had Prussia, indeed, become a vassal of France unworthy of notice? Not long afterward, Murat insolently repeated this insult. It was deeply felt by sovereign and people. Queen Louise made no secret of her indignation.

Battle of Ulm, October 17-20, 1805.

One of the most striking incidents of the war was the battle of Ulm. The Austrians, under Mack, were completely beaten by Ney. The flower of their army, twenty-three thousand men (including the general), surrendered. Napoleon in person received the flags and arms of the soldiers. Standing upon a slight elevation, he caused the whole twenty-three thousand prisoners to pass before him, two and two, lay-

ing their muskets at his feet. The flags had been arranged over the head of Napoleon, completing the picture of an antique conqueror in his triumph. One might have imagined Henry IV. and his humbled Saxon dukes. Some of the captured soldiers laid down their muskets submissively at the feet of the world's master. Others cast them to the ground with haughty pride and unconcealed fury.

Battle of Trafalgar, October 21, 1805.

Napoleon would not have stood quite so haughtily on the elevation at Ulm if he could have seen what was taking place almost at that very moment on the Atlantic coast of Spain. Admiral Villeneuve, commander of the French fleet, knew that circumstances did not at that moment justify a battle with the British fleet under Nelson, and hesitated to come out of the harbor of Cadiz, but Napoleon, by repeated orders and cutting remarks, compelled him to come out. "He is too great a coward to leave the safe harbor of Cadiz. He shall be cashiered." With his imperfect ships, therefore, and a presentiment of evil, although assisted by the Spanish fleet, Villeneuve met the enemy off Cape Trafalgar. From the mast-head of the Admiral's ship, commanded by Nelson, was thrown out a banner, upon which was inscribed his last proclamation: "*England expects every man to do his duty.*" This was better than Napoleon's, in Egypt: "Forty centuries look down upon you from yonder pyramids." The French fleet was annihilated. Nelson was killed. Villeneuve blew his brains out. All Napoleon's plans of invading England were destroyed. When he heard the news he uttered the exclamation: "I can not be everywhere." The catastrophe had taken place just because he had aspired to be everywhere.

Course of Napoleon toward Frederic William III.

Frederic William continued to do every thing in his power to avoid a rupture. He was honest himself, and he believed in the possibility, by an honest policy, of satisfying Napoleon, but he did not know his man. Napoleon's policy with regard to Prussia was sly and rapacious. A high-minded man may be cheated once or twice, but he discovers the character of his opponent at last. With all respect for Napoleon's resplendent qualities, in his whole dealings with Frederic William, he appears only as a rogue playing with an honest man and a gentleman. Intoxicated by ambition and brutalized by success, the conqueror had, no doubt, from the beginning, marked out Prussia for destruction, and used the moderation and honest confidence of Frederic William only to promote his ruin.

Secret treaty between Frederic William III. and Alexander, Nov., 1805.

At last, Frederic William decided for war. As a reply to the violation of his territory, he permitted the Russians to cross Silesia, and sent a military force into Hanover. Three days after the battle of Trafalgar, Alexander unexpectedly arrived at Potsdam. A secret treaty was signed by the two sovereigns, in conformity with which Prussia was to offer her mediation to Napoleon, and in case of refusal to declare war; a most unfortunate moment for such an act. The king, Frederic William, the queen, and Alexander visited together the vault under the pulpit of the old garrison church of Potsdam, where then lay, and still lies, the sarcophagus containing the remains of the great Frederic. The two sovereigns, in presence of the queen, exchanged a pledge never to rest till Napoleon was driven out of Germany. An engraving of the scene was subsequently circulated and received in

Prussia with immense enthusiasm. Count Haugwitz, Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was instructed to repair to Napoleon's head-quarters with the offer of mediation in one pocket and the declaration of war in the other.

Prussia attempts to offer mediation.

Notwithstanding the treaty with Alexander, Frederic William did not immediately declare war. For this there were several reasons. The Duke of Brunswick had pronounced it impossible to complete his arrangements before the 22d December. The king had, moreover, received false intelligence that an armistice had been concluded between Francis and Napoleon. Haugwitz was therefore instructed to communicate the offer of mediation, but not to present the declaration of war before the 22d.

Battle of Austerlitz, December 2, 1805.

The battle of Trafalgar, as already said, had destroyed Napoleon's hopes of invading England. But it had released the splendid army which had long waited at Boulogne. He now withdrew these forces, and began the great movements which military men have pronounced among the highest efforts of his genius. He had succeeded in concluding a new alliance with Bavaria, who was to receive a portion of the spoils at the breaking up of the German Empire. Würtemburg followed the example of Bavaria, Baden next. Bavaria regarded Austria as an oppressor. The small States had little power to resist. Bavaria placed at the disposition of Napoleon twenty-two thousand troops; Würtemburg, ten thousand; Baden, four thousand. Napoleon's force amounted to two hundred thousand. The Emperor Francis and his court removed from Vienna. Napoleon himself had entered that metropolis, and for a time made the palace of Schönbrunn his head-quarters.

He had previously selected Austerlitz as the site of the battle. "Study well this ground," he said to his generals, as they rode over the field; "here will we meet our enemy." He had the art by his maneuvers to bring his enemy to that spot.

The night previous to the battle the two armies lay close together. Silence rested on the camp of the allies, but toward morning deafening and prolonged shouts were heard from the French army. Napoleon had slept an hour or two by a watch-fire. Toward daybreak he awoke, wrapped his cloak around him, mounted his horse, and proceeded to reconnoiter. He intended to do this *incognito;* but as he rode along the front of his position, his soldiers recognized their commander and greeted him with immense shouting. Fires of straw were kindled on his way. The continual cries of "Vive l'Empereur" announced the enthusiasm and confidence of the troops. An old grenadier addressed his commander: "It is the anniversary of your coronation day. We will celebrate it in a way worthy of you. Only promise one thing: keep yourself out of the fire."—"I promise," replied Napoleon, "till you have need of me." The shouts which rent the air at this reply must have been regarded as a bad omen in the camp of Francis. There are touching traits in Napoleon's life; the confidence and affection of his soldiers; his power to awaken their enthusiasm; his familiarity with his old "*moustaches*," as he used to call them.

As the day broke, the whole district was covered with a thick fog, which gradually lifted. The sun (the sun of Austerlitz) rose with unusual brilliancy in a sky without a cloud. The divisions of the enemy immediately began to fall into the snares which Napoleon had laid for them. The battle was desperate. The Austrians were completely

beaten. The Emperor Francis parted very coldly from Alexander. The Russians had not been as prompt as was expected. Frederic William knew better the little dependence to be placed on allies. Francis then requested an interview with Napoleon, who received him at a mill. Napoleon advanced to meet his imperial guest and embraced him. "I regret that I am obliged to receive your Majesty in so humble an apartment."—"Humble as it is," said Francis, "you have made pretty good use of it."

This victory carried Napoleon to the highest pitch of pride and vainglory. Emperors, kings, cabinets, soldiers, and nations declared it impossible to resist him. His military genius had unfolded itself at Austerlitz in all its splendor. The victory was one of the most important of history. It put an end to the German Empire. It made the conqueror nearly master of Europe, and encouraged him to aspire to the dictatorship of the world. England was stupefied. Pitt saw all his lofty plans shattered, and died partly of disappointment (January, 1806). Prussia now stood helpless and alone, exposed to the fury of her enemy. Napoleon enjoyed the universal dismay. "*The campaign*," he said, "*has closed with a clap of thunder.*"

Treaty of Schönbrunn, Dec. 15, 1805.

But Napoleon was not yet quite ready to break with Prussia openly. Count Haugwitz, with the offer of Prussia's mediation or a declaration of war, arrived at Napoleon's quarters on the field of Austerlitz the day before the battle. Napoleon, who knew the purport of his visit, received him with friendly and winning courtesy: "You see, my dear Count," said he, "the outposts of the armies are almost meeting. There will be a battle to-morrow. Return to Vienna (a few miles distant) and deliver your message after the battle." Haugwitz gladly obeyed. After the

battle he returned, but did not succeed in obtaining an interview till the 7th (nearly a week). Then, without delivering the dispatch, he offered the congratulations of his master. "Here," said Napoleon, with one of his sweetest smiles, "is a message of which circumstances have changed the address."

Napoleon persuaded Haugwitz to conclude a new treaty, signed at Schönbrunn, thirteen days after the battle of Austerlitz, by which Frederic William entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, ceded to France that portion of the Duchy of Cleve lying on the right bank of the Rhine, the fortress of Wesel, and the principality of Neufchâtel, surrendered the margraviate of Anspach to Bavaria, and stipulated to join the great Continental System by which Napoleon was striving to crush England. For these concessions Frederic William received Hanover, but with the condition that he should take possession of it and hold it.

This treaty has been severely criticised, and Frederic William accused of vacillation and duplicity.

A distinction must be made between a premeditated policy adopted voluntarily upon a calculation of advantage and a policy of necessity arising from such events as the battle of Austerlitz. The Treaty of Schönbrunn was concluded by Haugwitz without the consent or knowledge of Frederic William, under the influence of the most important victory which Napoleon had ever achieved, and when Austria, the only ally who could help Prussia, was for the present destroyed. Frederic William would not have made such a treaty; but withholding his ratification after it had been made, would have been regarded as a declaration of war. When Haugwitz returned to Berlin, he was received with con-

sternation and indignation. What! the old faithful provinces of Cleve and Neufchâtel bartered away? What! a friendly government and an old ally (England) robbed of her territory? No one, more than the king, felt the humiliation. But, as already said, the battle of Austerlitz was a defeat to Prussia almost as disastrous as to Austria. Frederic William, therefore, ratified the treaty, as Napoleon himself afterward signed his own abdication; not from vacillation or duplicity, but simply because he could not help it. Frederic William, however, did what he could under the circumstances, and manifested here as elsewhere his well-known honesty. On taking possession of Hanover, he declared that he occupied it only till the conclusion of a general peace, and he sincerely intended to abide by his declaration. By this he offended Napoleon. England declared war, and inflicted heavy injuries on Prussian commerce; but the declaration of war was subsequently withdrawn.

Nevertheless, the influence of Lombard and Haugwitz did give a turn to the affair which does not form a bright page in Prussian history. Although the occupation by Prussian troops had been accompanied by friendly assurances from Frederic William to the British government, that he adopted that measure only to prevent a French military occupation, which would bring the French troops too near his own frontier, yet the officers of the Hanoverian government were soon displaced by others, and a proclamation, dated April 1, 1806, declared that the definitive occupation had become indispensable, etc.

The thoroughly-proved honesty of Frederic William, and the well-known tendencies of his principal ministers, justify the opinion that he was led by men in office, whose influence he was unable to resist.

Treaty of Pressburg, December 26, 1805.

The war against Austria was closed by the Treaty of Pressburg. Austria ceded the principal part of the Venetian territory to Italy, of which she recognized Napoleon as King, also Piemont, Parma, and Piacenza to France, and Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and various other territories to Bavaria. Bavaria and Würtemberg were recognized as kingdoms, with several additional territories. The conditions for Austria were disastrous and humiliating; for, although unmentioned, beneath them was the inevitable destruction of the Empire.

Napoleon after the Battle of Austerlitz.

Napoleon immediately began to issue decrees regulating the territorial condition of Europe. His dispatches were the expressions of a conscious world dictator. The Bourbon dynasty in Naples, he said, had ceased to exist, and his brother Joseph was appointed king. The Batavian Republic was suppressed, and Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's third brother, named King of Holland; Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, Grand Duke of Berg.

Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.

Sixteen German princes had allied themselves with Napoleon, and had stipulated to fight in his armies whenever and wherever he might require. They recognized him as their protector, or king, and gave to him their strength and power. By the act of Confederation, the Elector of Baden and the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt became grand dukes, the Prince of Nassau a duke. As sailors save themselves the best way they can out of a sinking ship, so the chief German princes, with the exception of Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Brunswick, and Hesse-Cassel, soon joined this Confederation. They represented a population of fifteen million, and brought to Napoleon an army of

one hundred and nineteen thousand men. Some years afterward, by the decree of Napoleon, several of the princes who had entered the Confederation on the condition of their independence, were unceremoniously deposed and their territory incorporated into France. Austria had been during six hundred years laboring to consolidate and increase her broad family domains; probably in view of the present contingency. She knew the ship would go down at last, and had constructed a pretty solid long-boat into which she could step in the hour of need, namely, the Empire of Austria.

Fall of the Holy Roman Empire, Aug. 6, 1806.

The members of the new Confederation published a declaration by the High Chancellor of the German Empire, Dalberg, that they no longer recognized the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, and that they had leagued themselves together in a new Confederation entitled the "Confederation of the Rhine," under the protectorship of Napoleon. The negotiations were conducted chiefly by Talleyrand. Napoleon, August 1, 1806, issued a proclamation in which he accepted the protectorship, and declared that the *German Empire had ceased to exist.* On August 6, 1806, the Emperor Francis, by a communication addressed to the Great Powers of Europe, officially laid down the Imperial crown, and renounced the title of Francis II., Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, reserving that of Francis I., hereditary Emperor of Austria. In the same document, he released all German princes and powers from their oath of fidelity.

Holstein.

Immediately upon the fall of the Empire, the King of Denmark annexed the German Duchy of Holstein.

Thus fell the Holy Roman Empire—the First Germany. It had outlived its virtue and power. The Imperial army with its old-fashioned rules of war; its perukes and pigtails; the Imperial diet with its ponderous questions of etiquette; the Imperial supreme court, where important causes had been waiting a decision two hundred years, had become objects of ridicule.

Thoughts on the Fall of the Holy Roman Empire.

Yet, what a mighty empire it had been! We get a true view only when we regard it as a link in the chain of empires; as the loftiest peak of a great mountain range. Its foundations had been hewn out of the wreck of the previous empire by giants, Meroväus, Clovis, Pepin, Charles Martel, and Charlemagne, and laid broader and deeper than those of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, or Rome. As its foundations were broader, so its pinnacles were higher. All the seven Mediterranean empires strove after absolute and universal dominion. Each one sought to climb higher. Not one of them ever became completely absolute or universal. At the highest point of her despotism, Rome had to contend against indomitable enemies, until at last she found it necessary to contract her frontier. But there has been a constant and gradual approach to universality and absolute despotism. Greece influenced the world more than Persia; Rome more than Greece; the German Empire than Rome. Rome sought to dominate only by military conquest. With regard to manners, customs, thoughts, religions, she exhibited indifference and even liberality; until toward her dissolution, the increasing Christian population threatened her existence. The German Empire, with the Papal power, either as its vassal or as its liege lord, had a larger field, and aspired to extend its

sway over all the continents and islands, the discovery of which has completed our modern knowledge of the shape and dimensions of the globe. It may at first seem that Greece and Rome were stronger and more universal; but the Holy Roman Empire sought its strength not in its squadrons nor in its territorial extent, but in its union, if not its identity, with the Roman Church. Notwithstanding the struggle of these two powers with each other, they stood as one for the government of mankind. All nations trembled before the infallible kingdom of God upon the earth. The tiara was a symbol of divine authority over the souls of men on the earth, in purgatory, and in heaven. Even as late as the middle of the fourteenth century, a jurist of Bologna, Bartholus di Saxoferato, in a commentary on the Pandects of Justinian, has the following passage: "No man without committing the crime of heresy can deny that the German Emperor is the monarch of the whole world" (*totius orbis*). Even after the fall of the Holy Roman Empire, the Pope (Pius IX.) claimed infallibility, and in a letter (August 7, 1873) to William I., Emperor of the new Protestant German Empire, declared that every human being who had been baptized was a subject of the Pope. He thus claimed to rule over about two hundred million persons.

As this mighty Empire descends at last into the deep, we feel the sublime interest of a great world event. Many thoughts crowd upon the memory and the imagination. It has the changeful indistinctness of a dissolving picture. Now it is a vast fortress besieged by innumerable enemies, Avars, Magyars, Saracens, Turks, Slaves, Danes, French; now a mighty Gothic cathedral; kings and nations kneel at its gates, and purchase for

gold the remission of sin and the right to enter the gates of heaven. Now it rises in its fury as "the great dragon" that lieth in the midst of its rivers, which has said: "My river is my own, and I have made it for myself."

For a thousand years it was the principal political edifice. At its fall, it was the oldest European empire. Its rise, in the person of Charlemagne, had been announced by unparalleled political convulsions and disturbances of nature; and its fall, by a symmetry which history often reveals, was the work of a character as pre-eminent as Charlemagne, and amid political convulsions (French Revolution, Napoleon wars, revolutions of 1848, etc.) and changes in scientific, political, and religious opinions more ominous than the irruption of the barbarians or those earthquakes which buried Roman cities and appeared to shake the globe. It was the mission of Napoleon to terminate its existence, not, as he believed, to erect in its stead a permanent world empire of his own, but to be crushed beneath its ruins, and to make way for the despised Prussia which he believed he had destroyed,* and for a new Germany from which the veil has not yet been lifted.

The Empire might have remained longer had it not been unfaithful to its trust. We have said that in these successive world empires there was a principle of ascent. There was also one of descent. The German Empire chose the latter, and sunk under the weight of its crimes. Its sins were more monstrous than those of its predecessors, because it sinned against greater light. On its ban-

* After the treaty of Tilsit, which allowed Prussia an army of only forty thousand men, Alexander remarked: "Prussia can not carry on a war with so small a force." Napoleon replied: "Prussia will never carry on another war."

ner the cross and the sword appeared in an unholy union. The former was degraded into a mere instrument of the latter; and the deeds done in their name caused a common shudder from the Mohammedan of Jerusalem, the Mexican of North America, the savage of Hayti, and the Peruvian on the coast of the Pacific. Yet these deeds were not so frightful as those perpetrated at home, in the centers of Christendom, and in the name of Christ. The Empire claimed to be the tree in the midst of the earth, whose height reached unto heaven; on which was meat for all; but its fruit turned to ashes and its shadow to fire. It pretended to defend Christianity; but, instead of defending, it persecuted. It had received the Gospel for the people, but it withheld it, denied it, branded it as a heresy, and punished with death those who taught it. It presented itself as the shepherd of the flock; but it soon showed that it cared not for the sheep. It first neglected them as a hireling, then fleeced them like a robber, and at last devoured them like a wolf. Who can describe the horrors it perpetrated to suppress the Gospel and to defend its own blasphemy and carnality? In the murder of Christians it rivals the Roman emperors.*

But now its hour had come. With all its cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces; its robber-castles and dungeons; its Faustrecht and Fehmgericht; its thundering bulls, councils, and diets; its vast squadrons of glittering knights; its long line of mighty emperors; its burnings, hangings, beheadings, garrotings, and buryings alive; its torture chambers and massacres; its Bartholomew night; its Holy Inquisition; its pompous *autos da fé*, compared

* "The Spanish Brothers, a Tale of the Sixteenth Century," admirably describes the state of Spain, with regard to religion in the time of Charles V.

with which the Roman amphitheater was an innocent amusement—at a word from this wonderful Napoleon, it fell—the Empire to which England had said: "Our kingdom and all which belongs to us, we lay at thy feet"; to which Rome said: "In presence of the Emperor, we have no right to choose the Pope; it is for thee to build the Church of the Apostles"; of which Europe said: "When it perishes, the whole world will perish with it"; of which, when founded by Charlemagne, the peoples had said: "*Hosanna! Blessed be the kingdom of our father David, which cometh in the name of the Lord! Glory to God in the highest! on earth, peace and good-will toward men*"—at the word of Napoleon, this Empire had come down; and for nearly a century Europe has reeled and rocked with the crash. Considering the greatness of its opportunity, the sacredness of its duty, the consequences of its apostasy, we can only fear that, in the eyes of Him who said: "*Woe unto thee Chorazin! woe unto thee Bethsaida*," the Holy Roman Empire had sunk lower than any of its predecessors.

It has not yet, however, entirely disappeared. It still casts its shadow over the earth. It survives in the infallible Roman Church; in the so blasphemously called "Society of Jesus"; and in many traces which rise in the path of the thoughtful traveler. The ruin upon yonder crag was once the residence of a Carlovingian or Hohenstaufen Emperor; or the den of a robber-knight; or the fortress of a Pope, dictating a creed to all mankind; or the courts of a cloister, where, who can tell, what scenes have passed? Nuremberg remains almost the same as when Hans Sachs sang and Albert Dürer painted. At Heidelberg, the wreck of Rupert's palace still towers above the river and plain as when shaken by the Thirty

Years' War. In this hall, sat diets; in that church were crowned emperors; here stands the *Kaufhaus*, in which the council condemned Huss; beneath the branches of that old linden (at Dortmund), the Fehmgericht held its sittings. Here a librarian shows the original copy of the Golden Bull; and here upon this beautiful height the Wartburg brings us almost into the presence of Luther, Melanchthon, Charles V., and Frederic the Wise.

Nowhere, perhaps, do we find more striking revelations of this Empire than in the cathedrals,—Cologne, Strassburg, Vienna, Friburg, Bern, Ulm, Regensburg, Marburg, Antwerp, etc. The tourist stands astonished on beholding, for the first time, even the exterior of one of these magnificent monuments of past ages. They break upon the beholder (it has been often said) like a strain of sacred music, a grand oratorio transmuted into stone while floating away on the air. Still more are we struck with the interior. Here we are in the Holy Roman Empire. The seven brothers of Ephesus, after a slumber of two centuries, awoke bewildered amid the wonders of a later age. On entering these retreats, we, on the contrary, seem transported into the "dark backward and abysm of time." We stand hushed in the presence of events, characters, and ages, in reality long past. Nothing reminds of the outward modern world; the world of telegraphs, railroads, newspapers, etc. The light struggles dimly through the vast painted windows, as if through the branches of old primeval German forests, where first awoke the idea of Gothic architecture. Half hidden amidst shadowy alleys of clustered columns appear emperors, popes, electors, bishops, knights, who once moved so proudly on the scene, and who still, in their statues and in their tombs, extort involuntary reverence from

the passer-by. And when the gold-robed priest heads the long procession, raises the host, and calls upon mankind to worship it as their God, we almost expect to see Gregory VII. or Innocent III. launching his thunder against sovereigns and nations.

Let us not forget that the Empire had a bright side. For a time, it was really the representative of Christ upon the earth. Even amid its colossal heresies (for it was a heretic of the heretics), it has always maintained some fundamental truths. It never openly raised the banner of atheism; or denied the original dignity of man, or the immortality and accountability of the soul. It was a protector of art and science. Its venerable schools and universities shed light in the darkness. The modern student yet feeds on the learning of the ancient world, which it preserved from destruction and bequeathed unto us as a rich legacy. Honor to those great champions (and there were many) who strove to keep it in the path of right. Honor to the band of heroes who warned aloud of its danger and, like their Divine Master, received persecution and death for their reward. Honor to the women who, through all the darkness and immorality of the Middle Ages, maintained the purity of womanhood, and exercised the elevating influence which is the characteristic and charm of their sex.

And, lastly, the Empire left behind it in the hearts of thinking Germans a consciousness that it had been a failure. It left a desire for a greater and a more united Protestant German Empire, strong enough to secure the blessings of liberty without suffering its abuses, and enlightened enough to protect from Romanism on the one side, and materialism on the other.

We have several times mentioned the Jesuits. If the

tree of the Empire had not been corrupt, it could not have brought forth this fruit. The Society was founded (1534–1540), by Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard, in the military service of Charles V. A wound received in battle disabled him from following his first profession, and a strong craving after fame led him to choose a not very different one. He became an ecclesiastical soldier against heretics. The object of his Society was to repair the damage which Protestantism was inflicting upon the Roman Church; and to rebuild and extend the Papal Empire over the whole earth. In 1540, Paul III., the ally and secret enemy of Charles V., seeing what use might be made of such an instrument, adopted it into the Roman Church. It was gradually clothed with greater privileges than any other order. At one time, it numbered more than twenty-two thousand members. Loyola died, 1556. Pope Paul III. made one condition. The members of the Society had vowed implicit obedience to its superior. Paul III. required that every superior should vow implicit obedience to the Pope. The Society soon became a machine as perfect as the locomotive, in which every part performed its service without inquiry, and in which all the parts, under one mind, worked together for one end, excluding every consideration of morality, humanity, and religion; or using those forces, as the engineer uses steam, the piston, and the safety-valve, merely as pieces of the mechanism. The Society was governed by an officer, called a general, elected for life by the highest class of the members. He resided at Rome, where he sat in the center, watching and weaving his wonderful web almost over the entire globe (the East Indies, Japan, Brazil, Paraguay). There were several gradations, or classes, of members, sometimes

The Jesuits.

kept unacquainted with each other. A Jesuit might be in company with another Jesuit without knowing it. Among the classes was one called the *novitiates*, chosen from all ranks of society. It consisted of the most gifted youths, selected for their talents, kept two years in what was called *novitiate schools*, and there trained in self-denial and blind obedience. Another class was the *coadjutors*, or worldly members, not bound by the vows of the orders, except the vow to obey the general. Each member was a slave more debased than ever bent beneath a Roman lord or an African slave-driver. Zwingli, when dying, said to his murderers: "*You can kill the body, but you can not touch the soul.*" The Jesuit could not say that. At the command of his superior, he had bound himself to expose body and soul by the commission of any murder, robbery, fraud, lie, perjury, treachery, treason, or other crime. His individuality as a moral being was annihilated. He had been taught that, for the Jesuit, the end justified the means; that the member of this Society committed a virtuous action when, in obedience to his superior, he did any thing forbidden by the Gospel. The teaching of Christ was thus diametrically reversed. Wrong was right. Crime was transfigured into virtue. The Society acknowledged the principle of sin, but with the following reserve. No sin must be perpetrated except by order of the superior, and he must order it *in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ!* There have been Jesuits, as far as the world can judge, models of Christian life. How could such persons become members of such a society! There is but one explanation. They followed the Pope instead of Christ. The ship's crew threw their Divine pilot overboard, and took in his place a fellow-worm as liable to error as themselves. The ship, of

course, went whithersoever the winds and vast ocean-currents bore it. It is not certain that Loyola and his colleagues intended any thing wrong. They were taught to maintain, by any means, what they believed to be the true Church. The right of individual judgment was withheld from them. They were forbidden by the infallible Pope to form an opinion of their own. They read romances of chivalry; Roman Catholic histories of saints, but they did not read the Bible. The Scripture teaches we ought to obey God rather than men. The Church taught we ought to obey men rather than God. The Jesuit had undertaken to obey his superior without the least regard to morality or religion. The most disinterested, purest characters could, therefore, commit the blackest crimes, and be made to believe that by this sacrifice of their conscience, they were performing a virtuous act. The successive generals, after Loyola, were chosen for their genius, learning, bigotry, and iron will. They exercised an unparalleled dictatorship, and worked the fearful machine with almost supernatural skill.

A certain class of the members had the duty to conduct the education of youth *gratuitously*. A town or village had only to provide a building for a university or school, and efficient professors of winning manners, superior scientific and literary attainments, were immediately at hand to educate without expense, and with equal care, the children, both rich and poor, for any career. This soon secured to them pre-eminent influence. They could thus select from the mass of the nation the most gifted minds, and win them into their Society. The highest capacities were trained to enter into whatever profession nature had best qualified them for. While the moral individuality was suppressed, the intellectual was thus fully

developed. The Jesuit found access everywhere. He was not always a monk in a cowl, his robe bound around his waist with a cord. He was often the bright, sunshiny school-boy, the gifted student, the well-dressed man of the world, the brilliant artist, the fascinating writer, the popular orator, leading the thoughts, opinions, and passions of thousands; the skillful physician in the chamber of the sick; the father confessor at the bed of the dying, in the poor man's hut, the house of the rich burgher, the prince's castle, the Imperial court. He was the diplomate, the statesman, the prime minister, the secret counselor of princes, queens, kings, emperors. Perhaps the prince and emperor were themselves Jesuits.

But the Jesuits claimed a much more appalling privilege than exemption for themselves from all the laws of man and God. They claimed the right to dispense others from those laws. Evil is mighty (let enlightened philosophers teach what they may), because it corresponds to the natural tendencies of the human heart. The enemy storms the fortress with double confidence when he knows he has a powerful friend within the walls. In all the walks of life, in courts and camps, in the merchant's counting-room and the tradesman's shop, most convenient and welcome was the lesson that all obligations may be evaded; all treaties trampled upon; all promises broken; all commandments violated; all social and family ties, on certain occasions, permanently or temporarily dissolved. According to these elastic instructors, any sin may be innocently committed by making a mental reservation. A millionaire, for example, may swear in a court of justice, "*I have no money*," and he escapes the sin of perjury, by mentally adding: "*No money that I can conveniently apply to this or that purpose.*"

It is, we repeat, almost impossible to reconcile with these principles the noble characters, and acts of humanity and heroism sometimes seen among the Jesuits. Yet, while Luther and his colleagues, with manly, open blows were endeavoring to restore to mankind the light of the Gospel, these Jesuits were laboring to extinguish it. And they often did extinguish it. Men, otherwise virtuous, bound themselves to commit the blackest crimes. Why? Because they were blind. "For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not, might see, and that they which see, might be made blind." Nothing in the old Rome of Tiberius and Nero, nor in any of the preceding empires, nor in the Holy Roman Empire, was so bad as Jesuitism and the Inquisition. The Fehmgericht had not drifted half so far from God. We have no record of any other so perfect organization, working through so many centuries, by such abominable means, to accomplish such a criminal purpose. If the object had been to destroy Mohammedanism or idolatry, the means would have been inexcusable and devilish. Just six years before Luther's death, just as the Council of Trent was about to assemble, this awful Society appeared upon the earth. Its character, and its rapid, extraordinary success, might suggest even to a materialist the idea of an evil spirit. Such a being could not have formed a plan more calculated to make mischief in the world and to ruin the souls of men; a more studied antithesis to the teachings of the Apostles; a more monstrous caricature of the true Christian Church than this body of conspirators which, as if in fiendish sport, styled itself the *Society of Jesus.*

We anticipate, to complete a sketch of the Jesuits to the present day. They were, at first, slaves to the popes

and sovereigns. They sometimes became their masters. They ruled despotically in various countries. The indignation of governments, popes, sovereigns, and people against whom they had rebelled, often caused them to be banished; but they often returned. From 1540, till late into the eighteenth century, during about two hundred years, they educated nearly all the Catholic youth, and exercised a baneful influence over political events. We may mark their dreadful footsteps in the black treasons, the vile treachery (for instance, the fraud practiced against Philip of Hesse, on his capitulation by Charles V., Granvelle, and Alba), the broken treaties; the bribed statesmen of these years; in the French-Huguenot wars (1562–1589); in the Bartholomew night; in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; in the Roman Catholic bloody oppression of the Netherlands; in Spain and Italy; in the Thirty Years' War. This fearful war they kindled, and continued to blow the flames. Among their pupils and followers were Tilly, Ferdinand II., Pappenheim, Rudolph II., Philip II. of Spain, Granvelle, Alba, Charles IX., Catherine de Medicis, and many more. The Society acquired enormous wealth by donations, bequests, mercantile enterprises and financial speculations; for which their access to the chambers of the rich, the devout, the sick, and the dying, and their foreign missions, opened golden opportunities. In some parts of Europe, they annihilated Protestantism; for instance, Bohemia, Poland, Austria, Spain, France. But for Gustavus Adolphus, Germany would probably now be Roman Catholic. Great historical crimes are charged upon them; among others, the assassination of the French King Henry III., and the noble Henry IV.; the Prince of Orange, William of Nassau, etc. In Spain, where Joseph Bonaparte had suppressed it,

Ferdinand VII. (1815) restored the order, with all its wealth and privileges. Don Miguel (Portugal) did the same. Abolished by the French Revolution of 1830, the Jesuits re-appeared in France under Louis Philippe, and became more powerful during the reign of Napoleon III.; but the order received a heavy blow by the French-German War of 1870. Pope Pius IX. was completely in their hands. To them must be ascribed the adoption of the dogma of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary (1854), and the great Ecumenical Council in the Vatican, 1870. The Jesuits are still working in Belgium, England, South and North America, and many other countries. Their present numbers are said to be much decreased, and their principles not quite what they once were. But how can we prove either? A general of their order, Francis Borgia (1565–1581), has left us at once a criticism and a prophecy: "*We have stolen in like lambs. We have governed like wolves; they will drive us out like dogs; but our youth will be renewed like the eagle's.*"

The Inquisition, 1198-1834.

Another fruit which grew on the tree of the Empire, was the Inquisition. It first appeared during the reign of Innocent III. (1198–1216). It was a tribunal established to search out and punish, under the name of heretics, persons who opposed the supremacy of the Roman Church, and who dared to look into its errors and abuses. The word *inquisition* comes from "inquire"; its secret agents *inquired* into the thoughts of men. It was principally confined to Italy, Spain, and Portugal; but it subsequently appeared in other places. The adoption of this horrible institution illustrates the fall of the Church to its lowest point. The fourth Council of Lateran (1215) sent delegates into every village suspected of heresy, and compelled

everybody to swear that they would inform against any one—husband, wife, father, mother, sister, brother, child—suspected of heresy. All who refused to take the oath should be regarded as heretics. The Inquisition went on getting blacker and blacker; the least suspicion of heresy caused arrest. Criminals were admitted as witnesses. If the accused denied, he was put to the torture. The Inquisition confiscated for its own use the property of the accused. Charles IV. of Luxembourg (1469) adopted it again in Germany. There were at one time six inquisitors in North Germany alone. The Reformation was the Hercules who finally destroyed this monster in Germany. Maria Theresa legally abolished it. Attempts to re-establish it have been made by rabid reactionaries like Ferdinand VII. of Spain, but the people would not stand it any longer.

The countries most afflicted with this frightful abscess were Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, the Netherlands. In the latter country (1567), the attempt of Philip II. to exterminate Protestantism by the Inquisition caused the seven northern provinces to break away from the ten Roman Catholic provinces and from Spain. In Spain, the Inquisition was used, not only to burn all who thought for themselves in religious matters, but as a political and financial instrument. The Inquisitor-General, *Torquemada*, used it to break down the nobility and confiscate their property to the State, and in seventeen years, in Spain (1481–1498), burned alive two thousand persons.* The whole number burned in Spain is estimated by Llorento at thirty-one thousand nine hundred and twelve.

* Maurenbrecher, Skizzen, p. 18 ff.

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